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The Shape of Things

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MEASURED BY ELECTION RETURNS, THE President's attempt to purge the Democratic Party of elements hostile to his program has been unsuccessful. Tuesday will see the last primary test this year of Mr. Roosevelt's power to exorcise when Chairman O'Connor of the House Rules Committee faces the opposition of James H. Fay for the Democratic nomination in the Sixteenth Congressional District, New York City. One of Mr. O'Connor's conservative Democratic colleagues on the Rules Committee, William J. Driver, was defeated in Arkansas, the one Roosevelt victory so far in the "purge." We hope Mr. O'Connor will be the next. The President's candidate, David J. Lewis, was defeated by Tydings in Maryland on Monday, and as we go to press George seems certain of winning the Democratic nomination in Georgia despite the New Deal's opposition. The renomination of Loneragan by the Democratic state convention in Connecticut is another bitter pill for the Administration, although the influence of Attorney General Cummings, another conservative Democrat, prevented an open fight against him. So far no anti-New Deal Senator has been unseated, although two New Dealers, Pope and McAdoo, have been defeated. But Republican celebration is premature. Tydings's efforts to picture himself as a New Dealer, George's avoidance of any direct attack on the President, the unctuous tributes paid to Mr. Roosevelt by Senator Maloney at the Connecticut convention indicate that these polls are no test of the President's prestige. The Maine Congressional elections, where Townsendite Republicans defeated conservative Democrats supported by conservative Republicans, are a portent. When New Dealers lose to \$30-every-Thursaday in California and \$200-every-month in Maine, prospects are not too favorable for the safe-and-sound G. O. P.

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THE EFFORTS OF THE GREAT POWERS TO make short shrift of the annual session of the League Assembly furnishes an ironical footnote to Europe's war crisis. For it was to meet just such crises that the League

was created and equipped with extraordinary powers. Minority questions such as now agitate Czechoslovakia are very much within the scope of the League's jurisdiction. Hitler's attempt to bring pressure on the Czech republic is in direct defiance not only of the League but of the principles on which it was founded. Elsewhere other momentous problems demand solution. China has appealed for belated action against Japanese aggression. Franco's rejection of the plan for withdrawing foreign "volunteers" from Spain calls for immediate measures either to open the frontier or to blockade the rebel areas. Mussolini's recent campaign against the Jews makes more urgent than ever the need of some provision for political refugees. Instead of dealing with these pressing matters, delegates to the League have been considering whether or not to declare Article XVI optional. Although this proposal has been shelved out of deference to the seriousness of the Czech crisis, members are to be left free to decide whether they will participate in sanctions as provided by the Covenant. Drawing the teeth of the League is the last thing which could maintain peace at the present moment; effective League action in the Chinese or the Spanish wars would prove more effective in checking Hitler than anything else that could be done at this late date.

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THE DECLARATION OF A MISTRIAL IN THE Hines case obviously cost Justice Pecoña many hours of painful deliberation. The decision itself is not a cold summation but a warm argument for a conviction so strongly held that its practical consequences could not prevail against it. These consequences are serious. The trial, which was an expensive one, was already four weeks old, and the prosecution, which had finished its case, had laid all its cards on the table. The defendant is an old-line Tammany politician to whom the public certainly owes no sympathy. The issue is racketeering. Nevertheless Justice Pecora declared a mistrial because District Attorney Dewey asked a witness a question linking Hines with the poultry racket, a charge not contained in the indictment. To Dewey's contention that the question comprised only fourteen words in a record of 4,600 pages, Justice Pecora replied that "a sounder analogy would be that one drop of poison taken into the human system might kill the individual." Obviously the question is a narrow one of judgment; already legal authorities are dividing sharply on the decision. We agree with Justice Pecora's position that the tradition of the fair trial is far too precious to be put in jeopardy for the sake of convicting a Tammany politician. But we cannot help doubting whether that tradition was actually at stake, even assuming the impropriety of Dewey's question. The decision is a severe rebuke to Dewey as prosecutor. To Dewey the potential Republican candidate for Governor it may prove a decisive setback.

EACH TIME THAT FRANCO'S PLANES HAVE rained bombs on defenseless civilians, his partisans have offered an unvarying explanation: "The bombs were aimed at military objectives." This statement has been challenged by successive exposures of the facts, but the most impressive refutation thus far is the recent report of a dispassionate British commission of inquiry. Composed of two British military men, the commission essentially sustained the judgment of reputable correspondents who witnessed the raids. Granting the difficulty in some cases of distinguishing intent from result, the commission nevertheless found that a shocking number of raids lacked any justification in even remote military objectives. The most frightful of these was the assault of May 25 on Alicante, in which 272 persons were killed and 224 wounded. This raid, in the words of the commission, was "a deliberate attack on the civilian area of a city." But if this attack was most horrible in its results, its savage pattern was not unique. The report cites other cases in which it is equally clear that Franco's bombs could only have been intended to demoralize civilians by providing a steady spectacle of mass murder. As a timely supplement to the commission's findings, a dispatch from Washington reports the use of new, German-made bombs in assaults on Barcelona. These bombs, for which Spain is the testing ground, not merely demolish their immediate targets but have been known to kill people standing an eighth of a mile from where the missile landed. Such bombs would scarcely be serviceable for scrupulously restricted attacks on "military objectives."

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DWARFED BY WORLD APPREHENSION OVER Nazi policy in Europe, the abortive insurrection in Chile nevertheless conformed to the familiar Nazi pattern. The upheaval also dramatized the horizons of German ambition. As Chile's presidential elections neared, Nazi supporters of the reactionary General Carlos Ibañez saw that his chance of victory was negligible. With customary arrogance they sought to achieve through a sudden and violent putsch what a peaceful ballot would have denied. The attempt was premature and was resolutely suppressed; new precautionary measures are now being planned. But it would be foolish to believe that the sources of danger have been eliminated. The parallel action of Chile's native National Socialists and German Nazis operating in Chile is not purely "accidental" or symptomatic of only momentary accord. The fact is that Berlin views Chile as one of its most vital bases in this part of the world and has been steadily increasing its influence there in recent years. The full extent of this penetration will be described by Ludwig Lore in next week's *Nation*. It is meanwhile worth noting that the unsuccessful fascist stroke may be ultimately beneficial in increasing Chilean awareness of the Nazi menace.

MEXICO'S POSITION AS LEADER OF THE forces opposing fascism on the American continent was demonstrated in the two conferences held in Mexico City in the past fortnight. As a direct outcome of the Latin American Labor Congress, a Confederation of Workers of Latin America has been set up by the representatives of nineteen countries, with Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leader of the Mexican C. M. T., as president. This organization will devote its energies primarily to what President Cárdenas called an imperative need, namely, the "winning of full economic and political autonomy for Latin American nations." This is a task for which Mexico has already set the course. Although neither the C. I. O. nor the A. F. of L. is represented in the new body, the participation of John L. Lewis in the International Peace Conference sessions which opened last week with many of the same delegates attending may be taken as an indication of a growing unity of interests between the workers of the two Americas. Lewis did not address himself to Latin American problems as such but spoke of the growing fascist menace in the United States as a corollary to the reactionary movement throughout the world. He could well have added that the only force likely to be powerful enough to stem the tide of this reaction was a strong, united labor movement embracing the whole continent.

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FRANK BUCHMAN'S "MORAL REARMAMENT" conference at Interlaken has been packing them in. Two thousand persons from forty-five nations, according to the *New York Times*, listened in silence as the Reverend P. T. Huey Barnum of the Oxford Group opened the conference by declaring in no uncertain terms and, we hope, with the appropriate gestures: "The world is at the crossroads." (The traffic at the crossroads this season has been the heaviest on record.) The Oxford Group is featuring this year its new nostrum of "moral rearmament" as well as the old staples of changed thinking, God-control, and teamwork between capital and labor (wonderful for dealing with strikes); it is also displaying a new number called Nordic democracy. Sven Stolpe, described as a Swedish "labor author," declared that the Scandinavian nations were beginning to find through the Oxford Group that God had the answers to the three major problems in Europe: national selfishness, fear of division in industrial life, and minorities. (They have not yet been announced.) At another meeting a former radical agitator told how he had given up "mean-minded revolution" for the gospel of changing lives. But our favorite testimonial came from the nephew of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, no less, who wired: "Your message of moral rearmament will . . . solve Palestine's problem." We might construe the whole affair as a burlesque of the disarmament conferences that have taken place in Switz-

erland since the last war, but if the Buchman movement were capable of that much humor it wouldn't be as funny as it is.

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SARAH OLIVER HULSWIT HAS STARTED A new crusade. With the incomparable energy and unmitigated self-confidence of the well-to-do woman who wrestles incessantly with the knotty problem of how to waste her time, Mrs. Hulswit and her buddies in the Women's Rebellion have proposed that men and women on relief be disfranchised because they are not free to vote the way they wish and because they are sure to perpetuate the system that provides relief. According to this logic, the relievers, if they could vote as they pleased, would cut down relief to Hoover proportions. But she is taking no chances. She would take away their vote at once by the simple method of enforcing the poll-tax requirement that remains as a dead letter on the statute books of many a state. Fortunately Mrs. Hulswit's political sense goes no deeper than her humanity. Her foolish suggestion provided President Roosevelt with an excellent opportunity to combine a sharp rebuke "to the ladies" with a simple lesson in democratic procedure; and the indignant responses especially of New Jersey politicians to her request that they work to disfranchise thousands of potential supporters have been almost funny in their Fourth of July eloquence. At this stage at least we cannot accord the Women's Rebellion the dignity of being a menace.

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ON ACCOUNT of illness Paul Y. Anderson was unable to write a Washington letter for this issue; it will, we hope, appear as usual next week.

Dead End in Europe

HITLER'S words, like bombs falling on an undefended town, crashed into homes and city rooms and government offices in every country of the world. We go to press, the morning after his speech, knowing only its first effect. If its objective was to create panic and confusion in the ranks of his opponents, like most air bombardments it evidently failed. Reports from every European capital emphasize the calm mood in which his provocative words were received. His defiance of the democracies, his shop-worn attacks on Jews and Communists, and most of all his charge that the Czechs are the aggressors in the present crisis aroused bitter mirth rather than fear. And, after all, he failed to make his threats specific. That fact alone helped to deflate the intended menace of the speech. It is not that people deceive themselves as to his ultimate intentions. But they realize that he is not perhaps quite as anxious as his

bluster would indicate to challenge the military forces of the Western powers and the Soviet Union; he is still, evidently, playing for a peaceful capitulation—presumably under the whip of the British—on the part of the Czechs. This does not mean that he is too smart to fight. It does suggest that he is aware that the military and economic power of the Third Reich is not yet as invincible as he likes to boast.

So much for the effect of his bombardment on the nerves of the *Ausländer*. Within Germany the repercussion was naturally different. One had only to listen to the roars of frenzied approval that met every promise, every boast, every appeal to Nazi solidarity, to realize that his Nazi followers believe what they are told, and that Hitler half believes what he tells them. Here was an unscrupulous adventurer threatening to precipitate a world war if necessary to support his avowed aim of national aggrandizement. Here was a shrewd politician deliberately maneuvering to put his opponents in the unhappy position of enemies of freedom. But here, too, undeniably, was a fanatical believer in the holiness of his mission. In short, here was a master demagogue, the most dangerous man on earth. The Germans heard only the voice of the crusader pledging himself and his people to the rescue of their brothers in blood and faith from the clutches of a tyrant power controlled by Bolsheviks and Jews. They heard of the encircling threat of the democracies and of their own leaders' sacrifices for peace. And nobody laughed in Nürnberg.

Everything remains outwardly as it was before the great detonation. The armies of Europe are mobilized, ready to move; the British still refrain from public commitments; Viscount Runciman is presumably hoping and working for a final, magnanimous gesture of suicide on the part of the Czechs; and, as we write, negotiations are actually being resumed between the Sudeten Germans and the government. But tension never remains static. A speech like Hitler's, by increasing a strain that has become almost unbearable, presses matters nearer to the breaking-point. He has not said the words that mean war, but he has effectually ruled out all the alternatives that might mean peace. His demand for self-determination seemed to suggest a plebiscite; but he has refused to countenance even that extreme expedient because it would "only be conducted under brutal oppression." Presumably, then, his speech was an invitation to the Germans in Czechoslovakia to rise in revolt, and a promise to come to their aid if their freedom was not promptly granted. But he did not name the day, and observers in Paris and Prague are finding great significance in his announcement that Germany's defenses would be completed "by the end of the year." Perhaps, as they hope, the great crusade will wait until that time, provided the Henleinists can keep their grievances alive and in good condition. But neither a solution nor a long

delay seems to us at all likely. The gap between the uttermost that the Czechs can yield and the least that the Germans will take is measured by Hitler's determination to dominate Eastern Europe, come what may. And so the road narrows, ways of escape are cut off one by one, and the nations stumble toward a dead end. Today it is impossible to say how soon it will be reached, but it is even less possible than before Hitler's speech to see how it is to be avoided.

America's Role in the War Crisis

THE Czechoslovak crisis has become the paramount matter of world concern. The press is filled with tightly packed columns on what the French, the British, the Hungarians, and the Japanese will do in the event of an outbreak of fighting on the Czech-German border. Yet there is very little, even in the American papers, of what the United States might do in case of war. With no shortage of suggestions of how Britain, France, or Germany should act to prevent war, there is small indication that this country might play a role in preventing hostilities. Yet the United States, because of its size, the richness of its natural resources, and its dominant position in international trade, along with the British Empire holds the key to war and peace. If war comes, the policies adopted by the United States may ultimately determine the victor.

If President Roosevelt were free to make a definite statement of American policy at this time, it might have a decisive effect on the present crisis. But the President's hands are tied. The Neutrality Act adopted in 1936 specifically prevents the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerents, regardless of whether they are fighting to destroy international law and order or to preserve it, or whether they are aggressors or the victims of aggression. As long as the act remains in its present form, any statement that the President or the Secretary of State might make against aggression would be set down as hypocrisy by the fascist powers. We have denounced the bombing of open cities in Spain and China, but we have consistently furnished Italy and Japan with the materials that make that bombing possible. Hitler doubtless feels that this benign arrangement would continue in a general war.

Actually this is unlikely to be the case. The Neutrality Act expires May 1, 1939, and a rapidly growing proportion of the American people have at last awakened to its true implications in a world in which the fascist aggressors are cynically picking off the weaker states one by one. Last spring's campaign for the lifting of the Spanish embargo had the backing of a great majority of the population. It was thwarted only by the strongest

pressure from the Chamberlain government and the Catholic hierarchy. Despite frequent protest from a small band of isolationists centering in Washington, the act has been allowed to become a dead letter in the Far Eastern conflict. There is growing agitation for unilateral action to stop the flow of American war materials to Japan. Pressure for repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act has come from such diverse quarters as left-wing groups, the leading women's peace organizations, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, and the tory Republican press. The Administration has never regarded the act with favor.

The President has taken pains to assure the country that neither his speech in Canada on August 18 nor recent remarks by Mr. Hull and Mr. Bullitt implied any commitment, moral or otherwise, to the anti-Nazi forces in Europe. But the avowal of American sympathy in those statements still stands. And the time has come when warnings should be backed with action. There are a number of ways in which this can be done without involving this country in struggles that are peculiarly European. The report of the International Law Committee of the National Lawyers' Guild, issued last week, makes it clear that the State Department has technically broken the law in issuing licenses for shipments of arms and ammunition to Germany. Such shipments were expressly outlawed by the peace treaty with Germany signed August 25, 1921, and never amended. Should the State Department accept this interpretation Hitler would know definitely that he could not count on material aid from the United States in the event of war. The Hull trade policy furnishes an even better vehicle for throwing our influence on the side of non-aggressor countries. Germany has deliberately rejected and actively combated that policy, both in theory and in fact. The Nazi theory of autarchy is opposed to a revival of multilateral trade and for bilateral bargaining and discrimination. Why not give the Nazis a dose of their own medicine and place heavier penalties on countries that refuse to accept the principle of equal treatment? To supplement this action the United States should redouble its efforts to conclude favorable trade agreements with the countries that accept this principle and to strengthen them economically against pressure from the totalitarian states. The Anglo-American pact in particular should be carried to a conclusion, and efforts should be made to enter into negotiations with the threatened countries of Eastern Europe. In addition, a campaign might well be started to encourage the purchase of goods from the countries which have entered into agreements with us—especially Czechoslovakia.

When Congress reassembles, its first job should be the repeal of the Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act. Neither law has served or can serve the purpose for which it was intended. Both stand in the way of help to possible victims of aggression. Repeal would in no way

injure Germany or any other state. But it would serve warning that the United States does not propose to continue to encourage aggression by specifically outlawing aid to the victims of such aggression. This action on the part of the United States might do more to head off war than anything Czechoslovakia can do.

Right-Wing Boomerang

THE report of the President's Commission on Industrial Relations in Great Britain is the most embarrassing thing that has happened in a long time to our friends on the right. For months, in their drive to revise the Wagner Act, they have pointed to British law, and in particular the Trades Union Disputes Act of 1927, as a model on which to reconstruct our own collective-bargaining legislation. Mr. Roosevelt gave the appearance of having been jockeyed into appointing the commission as a concession to the reactionaries. Their jubilation mounted when John L. Lewis, on learning that the investigation might be made the basis for revision of the National Labor Relations Act, withdrew his sanction for C. I. O. representation on the commission. The White House sought to allay labor's suspicions by announcing that the report would be purely factual, but only succeeded in whetting conservative expectations. "How can men of independent minds like Gerard Swope, Lloyd K. Garrison, and Charles R. Hook, among others designated," asked Arthur Krock in the *New York Times*, "agree to refrain from any report which might impress American readers with the belief that this country could apply some lessons of British and Swedish experience?" Although Leo Huberman, in an article in *The Nation* of February 19, had shown that current American notions of British labor law were highly fanciful, misinformation continued to pour from spokesmen for the business point of view. Again the oracular Mr. Krock may serve as an example. He wrote that the "present Trades Union Act" in Great Britain "forbade sympathetic strikes and all strikes interfering with the processes of government, made the treasuries of the unions liable for damages in the event of broken contracts, and confined picketing to persons actually on strike at the premises. . . . As a result, British employers opened their arms to unionism and collective bargaining, and they are severely punished by law if they seek to undermine either."

This, the report to the President shows, is almost entirely inaccurate. The Trades Union Act of 1927 is bad, but not half so bad as our reactionaries have painted it. Sympathetic strikes, unless part of a general strike like that which Britain experienced in 1926, are not forbidden; the commission found that 71,000 workers went out on sympathetic strikes in 1923, 1924, and 1925 as compared with 120,000 involved in sympathetic strikes

in 1934, 1935, and 1936. Picketing is not confined to "persons actually on strike at the premises." Nor are British employers "severely punished by law" if they seek to undermine unionism or collective bargaining. In fact, the chief characteristic of the British system is the absence of legal compulsion. The Ministry of Labor has an arbitration panel, but decisions are not binding; it has a staff of conciliators, but they have no power except their own persuasiveness. There is a permanent Industrial Court to which disputes may be referred with the consent of both parties. "Unless otherwise agreed," the President's commission reports, "the court's awards are not binding, but they are generally accepted." The collective agreements of unions and employer organizations which govern most of British industry "rest upon moral force rather than upon legal compulsion," and unions cannot be sued for breach of contract or damage inflicted in the course of a trade dispute.

If the conditions revealed by the commission's report seem Arcadian in comparison with our own turbulent labor relations and lawless employers, it is comforting to note that Britain's labor struggles a half-century ago were as bitter as our own. Labor won its rights, as labor must win them everywhere, by fighting for them, and employers learned that unionization could be a pillar of stability only by long experience. "The most quarrelsome period of a trade's existence," one royal commission reported, "is when it is just emerging from the patriarchal condition." Tom Girdler and the Memorial Day Massacre may serve as outstanding incidents in this, our own patriarchal stage. British employers do not hire labor spies or "scabs," the commission learned, and struck plants ordinarily shut down until the dispute is settled. "Violence on the part of the workers and provocative tactics on the part of the employers have not for a long time played any significant part in industrial disturbances." We hope that Congress will leave the Wagner Act alone and let workers and employers "revise" our labor relations instead.

Why the Yankees Win

ALTHOUGH Joe Di Maggio may resent the analogy, there is a note of Greek tragedy in the annual achievements of the New York Yankees. As early as May the experts concede them the pennant; the other teams nourish slender hopes until midsummer, when the shadow of inevitability and Lou Gehrig can no longer be evaded. Now we are witnessing the dreary culmination of an event long ago prophesied; it is scarcely momentous whether the Browns or Athletics win the mad dash for the cellar. Whatever real tension remains is confined to the National League, where four teams are supposedly battling for the privilege of facing

the Yankees in the World Series. Judging from the mediocre play of these contenders, that is no privilege. With the Yankees once more supreme and preparing to commit murderous assault in the inter-league competition, the "bleacher bugs" have focused their attention on a broader and more universal dilemma. The issue is what to do with the Yankees, since it is plainly impossible to do anything to them. This may seem a rather abstruse point, but the whole season has been distinguished by sociological controversy. There was the valiant sitdown strike of Mr. Di Maggio against a \$25,000 starvation wage. There was *l'affaire* Jake Powell: Jake, the Yankee left-fielder, announced during a radio interview that his favorite winter sport was "cracking niggers on the head" while serving as a Dayton policeman. The baseball magnates, none of whom allow Negroes on their teams, were quick to denounce Powell's uncouth chauvinism. These and similar incidents have furnished an adequately somber setting for consideration of the Yankee problem.

Strictly speaking, the Yankees are not a case for the monopoly inquiry, as some left-wing commentators have implied. Although the fact may seem more technical than real, there are seven other teams in the league. Their existence tends to escape public notice by mid-August, but it nullifies the concept of an airtight monopoly. It is equally clear that the Yankees demonstrate many of the problems usually identified with concentration of finance. They own or dominate a dozen minor-league clubs from Kansas City to Binghamton and New York; from these outfits they draw a steady stream of fresh talent to replace fading stars; they simultaneously keep promising newcomers beyond the grasp of other teams. With such reservoirs available each spring, it is silly for the Yankees' rivals to invoke the slogan which Brooklyn made famous: "Wait for next year." Nor is the damage which the Yankees inflict upon the competitive order restricted to the big leagues. Their Newark farm long ago clinched the International League pennant; by mid-August an upstate newspaper, in listing the standing of the teams, omitted Newark on the plausible ground that the Bears were in a league by themselves. As the Yankees' empire prospers, interest and enthusiasm in numerous other cities dwindle.

This is a peculiarly deceptive phenomenon. In ordinary economic life, the Yankees, having exterminated their rivals, would take over the industry and relax; such a solution is palpably unsound on the diamond, where at least a sham rivalry is essential to business. Should the Yankees be forced to sell their stars? Should they be broken into small units? We do not know the answer, but the issue may after all be a proper one for Thurman Arnold to explore. Frankie Frisch and Micky Cochrane, having been unceremoniously dropped from their respective managerial posts, would make talented special investigators.

Townsend Racket—New Phase

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, September 10

FOR four years now the Townsend Plan has worked a cruel racket—holding out the promise of riches to the old and poor. Recently the campaign in its favor entered a new phase. Dr. Townsend, who had to paint the floor of his own office before the dimes began rolling in, has instructed his adherents to vote for any Republican or anti-New Deal Democrat who indorses the plan. As a consequence some of the most reactionary politicians in the Northwest have come out for the Doctor's panacea. Worth Clark, for instance, whom the sound-money newspapers of the East hailed as a great, constructive statesman at the time of his victory over Senator Pope in the Idaho primaries, has committed himself to a scheme based on "revolving dollars." "The only recovery program which is not based on debt," he told the old people of Idaho, "is the Townsend Plan. It would circulate \$16,000,000,000 a year. I am for it and I am in favor of giving it a trial."

The Townsend movement still has a formidable following in the states of the Columbia River basin. Dr. Townsend himself attracts record crowds when he speaks at county fairs. Clark's support of the scheme was an important factor in his slender margin of 2,858 votes; and his success has led other Tories to follow suit. Rufus Holman, state treasurer of Oregon and Republican Senatorial nominee in that state, took the "Townsend oath" and pronounced himself in favor of raising \$24,000,000,000 annually for old-age pensions a few days after he had denounced the Administration for profligate spending! All three of Oregon's Republican Congressional nominees are Townsend Plan supporters. In their campaign speeches they tell business men they are opposed to the "cockeyed" policies of the New Deal—and assure the old folks of their support of the \$200-a-month pension.

This is serious for the New Deal, for it diverts support from an Administration that has enacted pension legislation and throws it to candidates who have no intention of supporting any such legislation that would actually be effective. Political observers believe that if it had not been for Clark's plainly insincere eleventh-hour conversion to Townsendism, Pope would have squeezed through despite the influx of Republican "floaters." It is even more disturbing to see such firm New Dealers as Jerry O'Connell of Montana and Henry Hess of Oregon become Townsend adherents.

But Dr. Townsend prefers reactionaries. "No New

Dealer," he said not long ago, "can be a full-blooded Townsendite." And the Townsend movement has become a sanctuary for all sorts of demagogues hostile to the Administration. The night before the Oregon primaries Joe Carson, the bombastic little mayor of Portland, prophesied that Governor Charles H. Martin, anti-New Deal Democrat, could be beaten only if "all the apes and Communists" voted for his opponent. Martin's decisive defeat so frightened this advocate of the balanced budget that he rushed out to a pension meeting and gave Dr. Townsend a fulsome introduction.

Dr. Townsend's personal representative in the state of Washington is Harry L. Bras, accomplished red-baiter and editor of the *Centralia Daily Chronicle*. Bras is also on the Townsend national committee. He denounces A. F. of L. and C. I. O. with a fine impartiality, and his paper recently came out editorially for the incorporation of all unions. The Reverend Simeon C. Williams, a Townsend lecturer, is "service supervisor" for the Portland General Electric Company. He assures Townsendites that the company is really their good friend. "Wouldn't it be a shame," he says rhetorically, "if the Bonneville Dam program should put it [the company] out of business." He goes so far as to tell the Townsendites that the power company will pay the 2 per cent transactions tax to get the pension plan under way. "But we can't get the tax if the power is sold by public-utility districts." Meanwhile, the old people, following the bright mirage of \$200 a month, cheer enthusiastically reactionaries who predict the adoption of the Townsend Plan though they have never supported any genuine program of social security. Perhaps the worst aspect of the whole situation is that it permits many candidates to avoid any commitment on the real issue of old-age pensions and the adjustment and improvement of the present Social Security Act.

In Oregon Townsendites have been circulating initiative petitions to get a pension measure on the general election ballot. The old folks have spent their time and money in a house-to-house, farm-to-farm canvass to get the requisite number of signatures. Many of them have been deluded into thinking that once the measure is adopted they will begin drawing \$200 a month in the next mail. Here is the proposition, word for word, on which their hopes are based:

Authorizes and directs the state legislature to apply to the United States Congress to call a national convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the

United States Constitution to provide for the establishment and operation of the Townsend Plan.

A group of Townsend enthusiasts, detecting the fraud, decided to start a movement for the Townsend Plan on a statewide basis. They circulated petitions calling for an Oregon transactions tax to finance old-age pensions of \$100 a month. Business men took one look at the bill and shivered. A tax of 2 per cent on every conceivable transfer of merchandise and money! The chambers of commerce sought help. They got it—from Dr. Townsend. Last week he virtually committed himself against

his own plan when he announced through *Oregon Business and Investors*, whose name speaks for itself, that any individual state adopting the Townsend Plan "inevitably penalizes its business men and investors." Naturally State Treasurer Holman and the other Republicans who have taken the "Townsend oath" are opposing the Oregon Townsend bill. They are, to a man, in favor of generous old-age pensions as long as there is no possibility of such a law's enactment.

Three years ago in these pages I stated that the Townsend Plan was a racket. It still is.

Can Lewis Save the U. A. W.?

BY W. H. MCPHERSON

Detroit, September 12

THE United Automobile Workers of America is the skyrocket of the American labor movement. It has had a swift, spectacular rise; it has shot off glowing flares of various shades of red to the accompaniment of thunderous detonations; and there is some possibility that it may soon burst apart. But here the analogy ceases, for the union will not burn itself out. Organization of the automobile workers is here to stay, regardless of what any union officials may do to break it up.

Significant labor organization in the automobile industry began in 1933. At that time each local was affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. In August, 1935, a charter was finally issued creating the U. A. W., but the federation insisted upon appointing its officers. Francis Dillon was named president and Homer Martin vice-president. In April, 1936, the union was granted autonomy and elected Martin as its president. In the following July it joined the C. I. O. In April it had claimed 40,000 members. Fifteen months later it claimed 400,000.

Last June, Martin suspended five of the union's seven officers, charging that they had conspired to disrupt the organization. In his public statements he asserted that their actions were the result of a Communist Party plot. The suspended officers countered with the accusation that Martin, under another type of communist influence, was disrupting the union. Reciprocal red-baiting was the order of the day. The pot was calling the kettle red.

According to the constitution of the union, adopted at its last biennial convention in Milwaukee a year ago, the highest authority in the union when the convention is not in session is the Executive Board. Between board meetings the president has the chief authority. The board normally consists of the seven officers—president, five vice-presidents, and secretary-treasurer—and seven-

teen regional representatives. The suspensions left nineteen members. The suspended officers were placed on trial this summer before the remaining members of the board. Four were expelled from the union, and the fifth was suspended from office until September 13.

The resulting clash between Martin's supporters and his opponents has now reached a crisis and is absorbing most of the attention of the union's officials. There are rumors of a new national convention, a rump convention, secessions, expulsions, and various compromise proposals. This dangerous situation has led John L. Lewis to propose a peace plan which calls for reinstatement of the disciplined officers, reaffirmation by all officers of their adherence to the harmony program adopted by the Executive Board last May, cessation of factional actions until the next regular convention, and appeal to the officers of the C. I. O. for settlement of any disputes concerning the application of this plan. The expelled officers and their supporters have accepted the proposed agreement. The Executive Board has recently convened to consider it.

The personalities of the leading characters in this drama of domestic incompatibility have a bearing on the situation. Homer Martin has a very pleasing personality, but he is not a strong executive. His selection for the presidency seems to have been due in part to his ability as an emotional orator and the expectation that he would prove valuable to the union in the field of public relations. His indecision is a major handicap. He is easily influenced by those who reach him first—and frequently influenced in the opposite direction by those who reach him later. Few persons, even among his supporters, seem sincerely to respect and admire him.

The expelled officers are the former vice-presidents Richard Frankenstein, Wyndham Mortimer, and Ed

Hall, and the secretary-treasurer, George Addes. Frankenstein until a few months ago was Martin's most prominent supporter. He is widely known as one of the victims in the "battle of the overpass" at the Ford plant at Dearborn. He has a forceful personality and considerable ability. As a unionist he is conservative. He has displayed an ambition for more than his fair share of prominence both as a labor leader and as a politician. He is inclined to act rashly in a crisis. At present, like most of Martin's chief opponents, his judgment is clouded by personal animosity. Mortimer, oldest and most experienced of the group, earnest and well read, apparently has the convictions of a Communist, though he denies membership in the party. The suspended vice-president, Walter Wells, broke with Martin only a few days before his suspension. He is conservative, but has never had any appreciable influence in the union.

Of the six members of the Executive Board who opposed the expulsions the strongest is Walter Reuther. He is a Socialist, though in many respects he does not follow the policies of the party. He is the leader of an independent group in the union which, while hostile to Martin and opposed to the expulsions, is also opposed to the calling of a convention of the anti-Martin forces.

The factionalism now reaching its climax is almost as old as the union, which has long been divided into two parties or "caucuses." The demarcation in the personal alignment of the members of the two groups has been so sharp as to make it difficult for any officer of the locals to remain neutral; the demarcation in policies has been much less clear. In general the cleavage is between an aggressive union policy and a more moderate and cautious one. The moderates, under the leadership of Martin, adopted the title of Progressives. The more militant, with Mortimer as their chief official, came to be known as the Unity group. Neither of these titles is particularly descriptive of the group to which it is applied.

The differences between the policies of the two groups can be indicated by summarizing the chief objections raised by the members of Unity to the actions of the Progressives, who have been in control of the union. One cannot, however, be sure that the Unity group would act as their criticisms suggest if they were in control. Unity leaders in general favored a more vigorous conduct of strikes. They put greater value on the small, brief sitdown demonstration, and were consequently inclined to penalize less severely the instigators of unauthorized strikes, although they professed to be as ardent as the Progressives in their respect for the sacredness of the labor contract. They advocated a greater degree of autonomy for local unions and sought a reduction of the limitations upon the actions of shop stewards, who are the contact men between the local and its individual members in the factory. Usually they were less satisfied with the provisions of a labor agreement.

The Communists and Socialists and their sympathizers formed the nucleus and provided most of the leadership for the Unity group. The Unity "caucus" included, however, a great many members whose political views were far from left. Probably not more than one-fifth of one per cent of the union members belong to the Communist Party, and the Socialists are even less numerous.

At the convention last year the Progressives had a majority of about ten to seven. The C. I. O. advisers obtained a compromise on the election of officers by which the Unity officials—Mortimer, Addes, and Hall—were reelected. Of the other Executive Board members five belonged to the same caucus and a sixth usually voted with them. Thus the Progressives had a fifteen-to-nine majority on the board.

At about this time Frankenstein, still Martin's chief supporter, conferred with some of the leading American Communists. If his aim was to split the Communists and Socialists and thus to weaken the opposition to the Martin administration, he achieved his purpose, for the Unity group practically broke up last April when the Socialists felt they had been double-crossed by the Communists in the election of officers to the new Michigan C. I. O. Council. But the Communists were apparently playing much the same game as Frankenstein and they also succeeded, for they seem to have been partly responsible for Frankenstein's break with Martin. This break came late in April during caucus meetings of the Progressives on the Executive Board. There are various versions of the split. One is that Frankenstein clashed with Martin over the latter's proposal to purge the union of Communists. Many deny that Martin made such a proposal and claim that the break came because Frankenstein advocated the abolition of caucuses to suppress factionalism within the union. The Communists had long been urging this step, while Martin had opposed it on the ground that the Communists would still have a de facto caucus in their party meetings. Another version is that personal rivalries were the basic factor.

In any case the caucus discussion centered largely around the formulation of a "harmony program." Frankenstein was asked to draw up a specific proposal. Instead of submitting it to the Progressive caucus he released it to the public in the hope of gaining additional support for it. This made his break with Martin absolute, and he soon joined the Unity group.

At the board meeting convened on May 9 Martin presented a twenty-point harmony program very similar to Frankenstein's. The chief differences were that Martin omitted the abolition of caucuses and included the advocacy of certain bills before Congress. The program was unanimously adopted. It called for recognition of the union's constitution and the authority of its officers and Executive Board, guaranty of democratic rights to local unions, improvement of the conditions of employment,

opposition to wage cuts, observance of union contracts, elimination of unauthorized stoppages and full support of authorized strikes, attainment of the closed shop, vigorous organization of Ford, the aircraft industry, WPA workers, and all shops competing with union plants, economy in union expenditures, allegiance to the C. I. O., support of farmers' organizations and consumers' cooperatives, support of Labor's Non-Partisan League and Governor Murphy, resistance to war propaganda, a stand on certain bills in Congress, and assumption by all union officers of full responsibility for the execution of these policies. The adoption of this program was acclaimed as the harbinger of a new era of union harmony.

A special board meeting called for June 9 was to consider a proposed contract for group insurance available to all union members, which apparently had been negotiated largely by the Finance Committee in violation of a board resolution. The plan had several questionable features. Opposition to it was probably one of the factors which caused Wells to switch from the Progressive to the Unity group at this time. Loren Houser also switched, though he returned to the Progressive fold the next day. Temporarily Unity had half the board members and high hopes of gaining an absolute majority.

When the board convened, one Unity member and three Progressives, including Martin, were absent; so Unity was in control. The board voted to expand the agenda and recessed until the following day. At that time enough of the Progressives absented themselves to prevent the obtaining of a quorum. Martin, rejecting the advice of John L. Lewis, suspended the five Unity officers on the ground that their actions constituted a violation of the new harmony program. The points which they wished to add to the agenda seem to me to be perfectly legitimate matters for Executive Board consideration, though the action they wished to take on some of them was probably contrary to Martin's desires. If they were guilty of violating the harmony agreement, the guilt probably lay more in their spirit and attitude than in their official actions at this meeting.

Why the internal factionalism has reached the present critical stage in the U. A. W. while most other unions have been able to launder their linen in private is an interesting question. Martin blames the Communists, but they appear to be no more numerous or disruptive in the U. A. W. than in many other unions. Personalities supply part of the answer. The strong ambitions of several officers have accentuated the disagreements. And Martin appears to lack the strength of character and the tolerance for conflicting attitudes that enable some labor leaders to draw together persons of varying views for effective concerted action.

One fact which helps to explain the recent explosions

is the influence Jay Lovestone has had on Martin. When Martin attacks the Communist influence in the union he finds himself tossing boomerangs from a glass house. He first came into touch with Lovestone about two years ago. Lovestone had been general secretary of the Communist Party until he was expelled in 1929 because of his policy of "surrender and defeatism." Since then he has been the head of the Independent Labor League, alias the Independent Communist Labor League, alias the Communist Party Opposition. Martin was evidently favorably impressed by Lovestone in spite of the sharp contrast between their ultimate objectives. I believe that he sought the advice of the Lovestone group as an aid in his fight against the Communists who were attacking him in the union. His administrative assistant, the directors of the Research Division and the Women's Auxiliary, and others in less prominent positions are followers of Lovestone.

The hostility between Lovestonites and official Communists has intensified the conflict between Martin and the Communists in the union. Lovestone's influence may be partly responsible for Martin's support of the caucus system, his advocacy of a narrower political alignment than that favored by many members of the union, his opposition to collective action against fascism, and the relative moderation of his union tactics—the Communists assert that Lovestone overestimates the strength of American capitalism. Lovestone followers, on the other hand, contend that the Communist Party policies have now become more moderate than their own.

Another cause of the bitterness of the factionalism is the extent to which the caucus system pervades the U. A. W. It is used throughout the entire union, in the national convention, the Executive Board, and many locals. Before the last national convention both groups set up campaign headquarters and held separate conventions of their own. In the Executive Board the Progressive caucus bound its members to abide by its decisions. The secretary of the board often got a laugh by announcing the results of an important vote before the ballots had been examined. It is said that he was never wrong. Some form of party system may be expected in a large union, but when it is developed to the extent found in the U. A. W. caucuses it intensifies existing friction.

These factors alone would not have brought conditions to a crisis if opposition to Martin himself had not been growing rapidly. When in June his majority on the board dwindled to one he had to act quickly to save himself. He was too much at the mercy of his supporters on the board, who might seek concessions by the threat to desert him.

The United Automobile Workers may soon be disunited. This might possibly have been avoided if Lewis had taken the situation more seriously and gone to the root of the matter when he met with the board members

in Washington last June. But hostilities have now grown so bitter that it is hard to see how the union can long be held intact or, if patched together, can long remain a unit. It seems probable that the majority of the board members will support Martin in his opposition to outright reinstatement of the expelled officers, while Martin's opponents maintain that there can be no agreement without such reinstatement. On the other hand, most of those involved so abhor the prospect of a return to dual or multiple unionism in the industry that some way may yet be found out of the apparent impasse.

Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman of the C. I. O. have been in Detroit since September 7, holding continual secret conferences with the various groups in an effort to find some basis for agreement. As this article goes to press it is rumored that discussion is still centering around the Lewis proposal. Many suggestions have been rumored. The expelled officers might be reinstated gradually after suspensions of varying duration. Or they might be reinstated to membership in the union but not to their former positions; they would then be eligible for election at the next convention. Or reinstatement might be considered after a specified period of probation. Or a referendum vote of the entire membership might be taken on the question of reinstatement. Or the group of C. I. O. officers to handle disputes arising under the

operation of the Lewis plan might include Dubinsky, with whom Martin is considered to be on good terms. Or a board of arbitration might be set up consisting of three labor leaders outside the U. A. W.—one to be appointed by Lewis and one by Martin, with these two selecting a third—to reconsider, with final power to determine, the extent of the penalties inflicted upon the disciplined officers. But unless there is a decided change of attitude on the part of many of those involved, any solution along these lines may prove to be but a temporary palliative.

Supporters of the expelled officers have already made plans for a convention of their own in Toledo starting October 7. It will not be held unless present negotiations fail to bring an agreement and unless Lewis gives it some kind of approval. If it is held, it will probably result in the secession or expulsion of those participating. Those who are planning it have agreed that in this case they would form a rival union and ask Lewis to name an outsider as administrator for a limited period. There is no indication that he would be willing to do this. His attitude would determine whether or not the group following Reuther's leadership would switch to the new organization. The settlement of the present internal strife presents as difficult a task of negotiation as has any of the strikes conducted by the unions.

Race Hate—a Sudeten Tradition

BY ARNOLD HOELLRIEGEL

THE ancient and intimate enmity between the Czechs and their countrymen, the Sudeten Germans, has poisoned the wells of European political life for a long time. More than anything else it was the reason of the decay and eventual collapse of the Hapsburg empire. Nazism is, in all its essentials, a Sudeten German ideology. Hitler himself came from Sudeten German stock, and his political teachers were Georg von Schönerer and Karl Herman Wolf, leaders of the Sudeten Germans during Franz Joseph's reign. Schönerer invented the first racial slogan of the pan-Germans:

*Ob Jud, ob Christ ist einerlei,
In der Rasse steckt die Schweinerei.*

(Be he Jew or Christian in religion, swinishness is in the race.)

The swastika was used as an emblem of racial purity in German Bohemia long before Hitler was heard of, and much of the spirit of narrow-minded hatred which is so characteristic of Nazi psychology developed in the villages and small towns in Bohemia and Moravia where Czechs and Germans have lived together for centuries.

One would imagine that two races which disagree so

violently must be very dissimilar, but the contrary is true. In private life very little distinguishes the Czech peasant from his neighbor, the Sudeten German peasant, and even the townspeople are more similar than they realize. Both languages are understood throughout the country, and a large number of people speak both equally well. In times of national excitement, however, Germans and Czechs sometimes make a point of dissimulating this knowledge of each other's language. The foreigner who asks his way in the streets of Prague gets an answer in perfectly good German if he asks in English; but if he uses good German himself the answer, as likely as not, will be in Czech: *Ne rozumín* (I do not understand). To the eye it is very difficult to distinguish a Sudeten Czech from a Sudeten German; they are of the same racial type. As for family names, as often as not you discover that Czechs have German names and Germans Czech names. One of Henlein's most radical lieutenants is called Sebekowsky, which is a Czech name spelled in the German manner. It is a well-known fact that the more violent are a Sudeten Nazi's opinions, the

more likely he is to be of Czech descent. It has frequently happened that two brothers who by some chance received a different education have become respectively a radical Czech and a still more radical German nationalist. They still are, of course, brothers under the politics. They like to eat exactly the same things; they drink the same excellent Bohemian beer; their whole attitude is the same if they do not happen to discuss their political opinions.

But of course there is a great cultural abyss between Sudeten Germans and Czechs. The Czechs are modern-minded and very curious about other nations' customs and ideas. They read German books in translations or in the original; the average Sudeten German would be ashamed to know anything about Czech literature, and he does not care much about his own. Good contemporary German books—if they are good, they are probably written by an author exiled from Nazi Germany—can be bought in the big Czech bookstores, but it is not easy to find them in German bookstores; and no German bookseller sells Czech books.

Prague is the only city in Central Europe which contains two universities. At one time the two were one school, and this was one of the oldest universities in Europe, founded by the German Emperor Charles IV in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the nineteenth century the school split into a German and a Czech section. Notwithstanding the fact that both universities have still some institutions in common—for instance, the venerable library—there is hardly any cultural interchange between them; no Czech student would go to listen to a famous German lecturer, or vice versa. The students meet in the same courtyards, but intellectually they live in separate hemispheres. There is no exchange of ideas, only occasionally of blows. Friendships between young people of the two nationalities, or even mere friendly discussions, are rare; boycott is an everyday occurrence. When I first came to Prague many years ago to study in the German department of the German university, I went to visit my professor. In order to write down my name he opened a new ink bottle. Suddenly I saw his face turn crimson, and he threw the bottle through the window. I did not at first understand the reason of his ire; then I learned that the bottle contained a Czech ink, sold exclusively for the benefit of Czech schools. The beadle had put it on the German professor's table instead of the German ink bottle, sold for the benefit of German schools. The professor, a great and wise scholar, would rather have died than write with Czech ink. The next day I got into trouble with a fellow-student by lighting a cigarette with a Czech match instead of a German one. In the discussion which followed I learned that the German student in Prague would walk two miles to buy a pen or a sheet of paper if no German stationer happened to live nearer his quarters; and that you were allowed to make love to your Czech landlady's daughter

but not to sit with her in a cafe or to talk Czech to her, even if you were in Prague in order to learn the language. I also remember the riots in 1897 when the Austrian Prime Minister, Count Badeni, issued a decree regulating the use of the Czech language in the Czech parts of Bohemia. Badeni, a Pole, had made some concessions to the Czechs; violent street fights in Vienna and in other towns resulted, and the political life of the empire revolved about the question whether street names in Prague or Reichenberg ought to be inscribed on the street corners in one language or in both. This was the time when a young boy, Adolf Hitler, son of a Sudeten German family, was getting his first political ideas.

In the Czechoslovakian republic Czech and Slovak became the only state languages, but compared with what happened in the other succession states cut from the body of the empire there was little oppression. An Austrian German in Bolzen, South Tyrol, who by the peace treaty had become an Italian subject, was forced to Italianize his very name and to scratch the German names of his ancestors from their gravestones. His children were not taught their own language in school or allowed to say their prayers in German. Nothing of the kind happened in Czechoslovakia, although the Czech language became legally paramount in both the Czech and the mixed districts.

Discrimination has undoubtedly existed. For example, a German high school may have had to get along with a shaky old house, while a brand-new building was being erected for a Czech school two blocks away. The wise founders of the Czechoslovak Republic, Masaryk and Benes, could not always prevent such things in the first years of the republic, when Czech nationalism was still exuberantly enjoying its triumph. There was no decent German radio broadcasting in Czechoslovakia until quite recently. Small wonder if the Sudeten Germans, instead of listening to Czech broadcasts, preferred to listen in to Nazi propaganda broadcast in their own language from Berlin and Dresden. The Czechs, while granting democratic rights to their German fellow-citizens, gave what they gave with a bad grace and did not understand the necessity of counteracting the fascist propaganda from Germany. If the Czech politicians and administrators had followed Masaryk's wise lead and voluntarily made some of the more fundamental concessions that they are now being forced to make, the fate of the Czechoslovak state would look brighter. The hatred between the two nationalities is inveterate but they are too closely interwoven for either to be able to get rid of the other. No mechanical division, no artificially drawn new borders, can undo the work of centuries in Central Europe; it is as impossible to separate the Germans and the Czechs in Czechoslovakia as to separate the single colors interwoven in a carpet; you can only destroy the carpet by cutting it into pieces.

Progress and Purges in Soviet Russia

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

REVISITING Moscow after an interval of five years is like meeting a youth one has not seen since his childhood who has suddenly blossomed forth as a young man. One detects certain unmistakable physical resemblances, but the changes which have taken place are so fundamental that one feels one is encountering a completely new personality. Like an adolescent, Moscow shows a transitional awkwardness at times, but the characteristics of rugged maturity can already be detected.

The physical transformation of the city is the most striking, although not necessarily the most significant, of these changes. None of the press stories of the plans for reconstructing Moscow had prepared me for the renovation which has already occurred. In place of the narrow, cobblestoned streets of old Moscow, new boulevards have been driven through the city. In many instances, as on the old Tverskaya, the broadening has been achieved by tearing down, or moving, the buildings along one side of the street. Old houses are coming down throughout the city and are being replaced by attractive new structures which appear, to my untutored eye, to be far better than any of those built five or six years ago. Among the features of the new Moscow which is beginning to take shape amid the scaffolding are its eleven new bridges, necessitated by the completion of the Moscow-Volga Canal. In conjunction with the new boulevards, these bridges have helped to speed up the crowded Moscow traffic.

Far more significant than the changes wrought in the face of the city is the improvement in general living conditions. Again it has to be seen to be believed. Despite current complaints about the shortage of textiles, both men and women are far better dressed than they were in 1933. The old peasant type has all but disappeared from the streets of the capital, notwithstanding the fact that the city is jammed with people from the country. It is much more difficult than it was five years ago to distinguish a foreigner by his clothes; even the Soviet-made women's dresses are now very much in style. To one who has previously lived in Moscow, even for a brief time, the abundance of household supplies, notions, and luxury goods is particularly surprising. In place of the former empty shelves in the shops one now finds practically all the goods which are available elsewhere. It is true that prices, though considerably reduced, are still high, but the stores are filled with ready customers.

Most important of all, from the average citizen's point of view, is the improvement in the food situation. Five

years ago there was a desperate shortage. Meat was almost unobtainable, butter and eggs were beyond the reach of the average family, and there was often not enough bread. Some of the people on the streets showed unmistakable signs of undernourishment. Today there is an abundance of all sorts of food except, possibly, certain kinds of fresh meat. Canned vegetables and meats, formerly non-existent, can be obtained at almost any food store. I dropped into one store which proudly displayed several dozen different kinds of bread, moderately priced. Eggs are plentiful and reasonably cheap. The peasant woman who used to barter cupfuls of milk for bread on the street is gone, her place taken by a less picturesque milkman who delivers bottled milk from truck to doorstep. Even more incredible for old-timers is the supply of oranges and lemons, fruit of Soviet aid to Spain.

One indication of the material progress achieved within recent years is the decreased emphasis on production indices. The figures are still printed in the daily press and still show, in some instances, failure to keep up with the plan, but production of all types is running well ahead of last year and far exceeds anything which would have seemed possible on the occasion of my last visit. Heavy industry remains in the vanguard. Steel production is running about 50,000 tons a day, or 90 per cent of the plan. Automobile production is running practically at 100 per cent. The railroads, long the weakest link in the Soviet economy, are now, thanks to Kaganovich, operating steadily at slightly above their quota. The oil industry is also well ahead of schedule.

There is still considerable complaint about the light industries. Although their output for the first half of the year was approximately 8 per cent greater than for the corresponding months of last year, shortages still exist and may continue for many years to come. The improved economic status of the peasants and the campaign to raise the cultural standards of the people have brought an increase in the demand for goods that has outrun the rise in production. The potentialities of this demand seem almost limitless.

The problem of supplying the countryside with manufactured goods promises to become even more acute as a result of the harvest, which is one of the greatest in Russia's history. Weather conditions for grain have been almost ideal over the greater part of the country; technical organization in the collectives has been better than ever before; and for the first time there is a reasonably adequate supply of combines. The livestock situation

is also exceptionally favorable. In the past four years the number of cattle has increased more than 50 per cent, and the number of pigs has more than doubled. All of this will mean more food for the cities, more purchasing power for the countryside, and a still heavier strain on light industry.

But how is one to reconcile the trials and mass arrests with this undeniable record of economic progress? On the face of it, the two seem incompatible. Yet both are facts which must be taken into account if one is to understand the Soviet Union of 1938. The average well-informed Russian is as far from a solution of this riddle as the most superficial foreign observer. He may have a vague feeling that the stories of saboteurs and spies are less than the whole truth, but he accepts them for want of a more satisfactory interpretation. Foreign observers tend to be more harsh in their judgments, but differ widely in their conclusions.

Before coming to Russia, I remember reading a great deal about the fear which was said to exist among the rank and file as a result of the recent wholesale arrests and executions. Foreigners were supposed to be particular objects of distrust and suspicion. Although this is probably true in official quarters, I found no evidence of it among the common people. In my casual contacts with Russians on the street, in buses, and in parks I found them as friendly and communicative as ever, which is saying a good deal. If the average worker talked about the purge at all, it was usually to express satisfaction that some particular agency or bureau had been "cleaned." Workers are not ordinarily terrified merely because a boss happens to be removed to parts unknown; and a striking feature of this purge is that it has been confined almost entirely to the bosses.

It is not improbable—as many of the most competent observers insist—that the motive force of the purge has come almost exclusively from below. It has been carried out by the party leadership, to be sure, but it is the result, not the cause, of popular discontent. Having said this, we seem to be farther from a satisfactory explanation of recent events than ever. For popular unrest does not ordinarily develop during a period of rising living standards. Yet the press and control committees have received in the past two years hundreds of thousands of letters testifying that discontent does exist; the economic progress I have seen with my own eyes. The most plausible explanation of this paradox is that discontent had been festering for some years and only belatedly made itself felt. The Russians were stoical during the dark days of 1932 and 1933, but they seethed inwardly at the evidences of inefficiency and injustice which they saw around them. They particularly resented the special privileges acquired by the new class of bureaucrats that arose during this period. Once the crisis was passed and the need for endurance ended, they flared up in indigna-

tion against those responsible for these evils. Payment long in arrears was demanded for the sacrifices undergone.

Leadership in the purge has come chiefly from the youth—the generation which has grown up entirely under Soviet rule. Their idealism is beyond question; they have been schooled to demand, if not a perfect, at least a greatly improved world. They have none of the cynicism and political indifference which hold the younger generation in check in capitalist countries. They have never acquired the tolerance which characterizes the older generation. If certain individuals, from weakness or malice, are holding back progress or oppressing those under them, they must be forced out of control.

This interpretation throws little light on the guilt or innocence of the military and political leaders whose trials stirred the nations of the world. But many persons who accept the government's version of those prosecutions and many who condemn them as frame-ups unite in believing that they had their origin in an irresistible popular tide of anti-bureaucratic feeling.

In other words, the cataclysm which has rocked Russia in the past year is really a third revolution. And it is scarcely an accident that the persons chiefly responsible for the first two have, in many instances, been the victims of the present upheaval. For the men likely to be most effective in the overthrow of a czar—men trained in conspiracy, demagogic, politically uncompromising—are often poorly fitted for the task of running a complicated national economy. And foreign spies would naturally seek out men of this type. Of late, it is true, the purge has affected some of the younger leaders. But a large proportion of these have been connected with the Commissariat of Internal Affairs, and their sudden fall is probably the result of a reversal in popular thinking. It is now recognized that the "cleansing" has gone too far, and as a result much less will probably be heard of political offenses in the future. Dissatisfaction still exists, however, with the retail-trade and light-industry administrations, and other prosecutions may yet occur.

As an American I can see no excuse for the ruthless treatment of thousands of individuals whose only crime was inefficiency, mistaken political views, or—at worst—sabotage. But what is not recognized abroad is that the purge has its positive as well as its negative aspects. By this I do not merely refer to the matter of clearing out dead wood. Much more important is the fact that the material and political aspirations of the common people are beginning to be felt. You cannot teach a people that theirs is the kingdom of heaven for twenty years without expecting them to demand at least part payment. The Bolshevik leaders have taken the illiterate, poverty-stricken Russian mujik and his counterpart, the underpaid city worker, and taught them to want to live like human beings. Everywhere one sees evidence of a deliberate campaign to raise the cultural level and increase

the demands of the masses. And the new "cultural level" includes everything from the proper use of a toothbrush to the possession and use of an electric refrigerator.

In the field of civic activity the same situation exists. No effort is spared to stimulate a more active citizenship. Individuals are stationed in every park to explain the rights and privileges of Soviet citizens under Soviet law. Special bureaus are set up in every city for the purpose of receiving complaints and assisting citizens to obtain their rights. Similar agencies exist in the larger factories and government departments. The newspapers make a point of following up complaints and securing fair treatment for the common citizen. A special effort was made in the recent election campaign to acquaint every voter with the provisions of the new constitution and to urge them to exercise their privileges. Nor is the par-

ticipation of the citizen confined to registering complaints. Every factory has its production meeting where individual workers are encouraged to offer suggestions and criticism. The various government departments have recently initiated special "work councils" at which workers selected on the basis of technical efficiency are encouraged to discuss matters of major policy. In a country where the common people had had no rights for centuries it takes time to develop an active, critical citizenry. The results are still far from satisfactory from either an American or a Soviet standpoint. But it is the direction that counts. And there can be no doubt that the direction in which the Soviets are traveling is diametrically opposite to that taken by the fascist countries, or that the speed of development has accelerated in the past five years.

Einstein in Princeton

BY EDWIN MULLER

PRINCETON people no longer stare at Einstein; they have become subconsciously aware of him as a massive reality in the background, like Nassau Hall or the football stadium. Einstein may be the "greatest thinker of the age," but he has none of the grand manner. They found that out upon the Herr Doktor's arrival five years ago. At that time the public curiosity boiled. Even the senior faculty members turned to gaze as he took his first walk. If Einstein was aware of such attention he gave no sign. He turned meditatively into a drugstore. Some of the bolder spirits pressed right up to the window where they could see the great man. He was eating an ice-cream cone.

Einstein lives in a frame house in a quiet back street. The room in which he works is a small chamber, one end of which is almost filled by a big window that looks out upon a garden. He greets you wearing a loose coat, a zipper shirt open at the neck. The mane of fine white hair trembles a little in the breeze. The great eyes under the bushy brows are deeper and softer than any of his pictures indicate. With a gentle smile of apology he asks for a moment at his table, as he puts down a few final sentences of tiny, neat script and mathematical symbols.

As you study Einstein's face you are struck with the look of a man at peace with himself, who has found the way to supreme happiness—a discovery at least comparable to that of relativity. Is he happy because he has won a renown that seems secure for the ages? His theory of relativity has completely changed the conception of the universe. It has been called the greatest single stride that science has ever made. The twelve-page leaflet in which

it was presented is perhaps the most important document of the century. Fifteen years after its publication 3,775 books and pamphlets had been written about it.

It is not fame, however, which has made him happy. On the contrary, he literally runs from reporters, photographers, and all the hangers-on of glory. When he travels, every day is a struggle between his violent desire to keep curiosity seekers at arm's length and his inability to hurt anybody's feelings. Part of Einstein's serenity, no doubt, comes from his having had immense potentialities for work. But equally or more it comes from his having remained a simple, human being with a love for his fellow-man.

In all his habits his bent is for simplification. He uses the same soap to wash and to shave with because he doesn't see the need of complicating life by keeping two kinds. In warm weather socks seem superfluous; so at home he doesn't wear them. He throws away letters that don't interest him, no matter how important the people from whom they came. He is sublimely indifferent to money. Once for several weeks he used for a book mark a \$1,500 check from the Rockefeller Foundation. Then he lost the book. His pleasures too are simple—walking, sailing a boat. When he sails he sometimes wears a towel draped around his head, making him look like a benevolent pirate. He doesn't believe in wasting mental energy on such games as bridge and chess. He likes to write doggerel, to play parlor games—though only the easier kinds. No alcohol. Smoking is a permitted luxury—three pipes a day. He's not much of a reader. "Reading," he says, "after a certain age diverts the mind too much from

its creative pursuits. Any man who reads too much and uses his own brain too little falls into lazy habits of thinking."

He has never had an intellectual's disdain for service to others. When he won the Nobel prize, he gave the entire \$40,000 to charity, though he could ill afford to do it. He is an active champion of causes he believes in. Once a liner on which he was a passenger stopped over in New York for five days. Greatly in need of rest, he laid down the law: no interviews, no photographs, no public appearances. But he reckoned without himself. The first reporter found the vulnerable spot. "You ought to give us the interview, Dr. Einstein, because it would help the cause of Zionism." Before the ship left Quarantine he had promised to address a public luncheon and a dinner, and to broadcast. The whole five days became a turmoil of activity, for Zionism.

Einstein's earliest years were spent in Munich, where his father conducted an unsuccessful electrical business. The father liked technical problems, but his mental equipment for them was not unusual. It was never impressed upon young Einstein that he was a Jew until one day his teacher showed the class a nail from the "true cross," one that the Jews supposedly had driven into the feet of Christ. The pupils turned to stare at Einstein, and he knew he was a Jew. In those days, too, he got his bias toward pacifism. In the 1880's the streets of Munich were full of uniforms. The little boy conceived a horror of those drums and marching soldiers that has lasted him all his life. The course of his early life impelled him to internationalism. While he was still in his teens his family moved to Italy, where he spent some of his happiest days. Then he went to Switzerland to school. In later years he was a professor in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. He has been a citizen of many lands and an ardent patriot in none. He yearns for the good of the human race, not to push forward any section of it at the expense of others. "Nationalism," he says, "is an infantile disease. It is the measles of mankind."

When Hitler came into power, Einstein shook the dust of Germany from his feet. The Nazis made characteristic gestures of farewell to their greatest scientist—turned him out of the Academy of Sciences, seized his sailboat and other personal property, confiscated his bank account. As a crowning irony they solemnly searched his house for arms.

A woman once asked Einstein if he was convinced that his theory was true. "I believe it to be true," he answered. "But it will only be proved for certain in the year 1981, when I am dead."

"What will happen then?"

"Well, if I am right, the Germans will say I was a German and the French will say I was a Jew; if I am wrong, the Germans will say I was a Jew and the French will say I was a German."

In the Wind

NOT LONG ago Claude Ingalls, editor of the Corvallis (Oregon) *Gazette-Times*, at a rally of Oregon Republicans pleaded for a return to "real Americanism." Somewhat earlier Ingalls had expressed the view that "Germany is less a fool than we have been—she was through with democracy in the raw much sooner." He has said that it is "none of our business if Germany chooses to kill off all the Jews." He supports Hitler's action in depriving Einstein of German citizenship. And he insists that the President of the United States is a Jew named Rosenfelt. Mr. Ingalls was invited to speak this year at the Republican Party's official commemoration in Portland of a national event: the date was February 12.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS and feature stories have ballyhooed the question: "Will Howard Hughes star Katherine Hepburn in Amelia Earhart's life story?" The answer is categorically no; the question is being asked by publicity men as a device for getting Hepburn's name into the press.

TWO WEEKS ago this column carried a statement that an American missionary returning from the Far East brought back a sack filled with fragments of Japanese munitions which could be identified as "made in America." Actually the sack never arrived. Japanese authorities took it away from the missionary as he sailed for America. He remarked in protest, "The shells can't be very valuable as you're distributing them free all over China." The Japanese kept the sack.

A STORY in the Newark *Evening News* carried this headline: "Strike in Frisco Hits Food Supply." The body of the story, which described current labor strife on the West Coast, said: "Spokesmen for grocery distribution said there was no immediate peril of a food shortage, since retail stores were well stocked, but liquor wholesalers forecast an almost immediate shortage of advertised liquor brands when their plants are closed."

MAGNANIMITY NOTE: Although the *Atlantic Monthly's* anti-Mexican supplement, *The Atlantic Presents*, was completely made up of attacks on the Mexican government, this note appeared in small type on the opening page: "Cover photograph courtesy of Mexican Government Tourist Bureau."

THE TRAVEL page of the New York *World-Telegram* carried the following item on August 24: "The jolliest season of the year is just beginning in Europe. Americans who have been travel-wise to plan their vacations abroad will have the chance to see more gaiety and picturesque celebrations during September and October than can be witnessed at any other season."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

BISHOP MANNING'S recent public appeal for the sum of \$1,000,000 to carry forward the construction of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, with its confident assurance that the wealthy people of New York and elsewhere will give him the money, leaves me with a feeling akin to despair. Here we are in the middle of the worst depression the country has ever seen, with at least 12,000,000 Americans without employment, with the federal government pouring out billions of dollars annually to keep some of those millions from starving to death, with a report just published by the National Resources Committee stating that the average family income of the nation was actually only \$471 per family in 1935-36; and the Bishop of New York, in the face of this heartrending situation, must appeal for \$1,000,000 to put into bricks and mortar for which, heaven knows, there is at this hour no compelling need. The cathedral is far enough along for all the people to worship in it who so desire; and if there should not be enough space there in the immediate future, vacant pews enough can be found elsewhere in New York City to take care of any who may be denied the opportunity of church attendance at St. John's.

I know very well what the reply will be—that this period of wars and depressions, of disasters and destitution, of widespread godlessness, is the right time for the appeal to go forth to American men and women to pay tribute not to things temporal but to things spiritual, which rise above and far outlast wars, panics, and poverty; that, whatever anti-Christian movements there may be in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia, we Americans must prove that now more than ever we place our faith in the Almighty and give our allegiance to God. Well, I am a heathen I know, and I have lived a long life without benefit of clergy, but as one who has tried to do some things for the spiritual as well as the physical and political betterment of my fellow-countrymen, I feel that the Bishop's appeal merits only the word monstrous. If there ever was an hour when money was needed not for piling up bricks and mortar but for ministering to the sick and needy, this is it. I cannot claim to know what God is thinking and what will please Him, but my guess is that a just and humane God, beholding the suffering and misery in this land, would be on my side.

I shall also be told that Bishop Manning is a great and wise man who knows better than I what is right and best for the church of which he is the head. Let us look at the quality of Bishop Manning's leadership in the past

before we assent to this. Lord Rosebery once said that the only time statesmen's speeches were ever read was when they were "explored for untimely quotations" against their authors. Bishops' past pronouncements are sometimes similarly examined. I find some of Bishop Manning's extremely revealing. For example, we had a President, by name Harding, who died in office. The character of his government was well known. When death came to Harding, Bishop Manning said:

If I could write one sentence upon his monument it would be this—"He taught us the power of brotherliness." It is the greatest lesson that any man can teach us. . . . May God give to our country leaders *as faithful, as wise, as noble in spirit* as the one whom we now mourn.

No man in New York State corrupted the political life of this state more than did Chauncey M. Depew during his long connection with the New York Central Railroad. Besmirched by the revelations of their wrongdoing in the Equitable Life Insurance Company, Mr. Depew and some of his associates were compelled, after the Attorney General had begun suit against them, to reimburse the company to the extent of \$293,850.82. When Mr. Depew died, Bishop Manning mourned him as follows:

His high character, his lovable qualities, his interest in the general welfare . . . and his strong Christian faith, which was the foundation of his life, made him a man beloved and esteemed by all.

Waiving the Bishop's judgments of men, what of his interpretations of earth-shaking events? Here is one made during the war to save the world for democracy:

This war is bringing the world into a fellowship and a brotherhood that before seemed only a dream. . . . The outcome is to be a sweeping away of autocracy . . . and the establishment of democracy and world-wide brotherhood, including to the full those nations at this moment fighting against us. Two thousand years ago Jesus Christ gave to the world the message of the brotherhood of man. *Today we stand face to face with its realization.*

On the whole I, who called that war from the beginning a crime, a disaster for the United States, for the economic and spiritual life of men everywhere, for democracy, for liberty, think that Bishop Manning's judgments of men and affairs are just about worthless. I hope that his appeal for more bricks and mortar for his gigantic church on an impossible site will go unanswered—at least for the present.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE ARTIST IN AMERICA

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE old question "Can the artist work in America?" is the underlying subject of this book.* And in telling the story of Charles Sheeler's career as an American artist Miss Rourke makes an affirmative answer that both convinces the mind and excites the imagination. The question is of such long standing that, as Miss Rourke points out, it has itself functioned as part of the American tradition; and the doubt it expresses, combined with the further assumption that American art is merely an offshoot of European art, has served to limit both the possibilities and the self-assurance of many an artist. It has, moreover, tended to discourage the realization of our native cultural past by its implication that the past is so scanty as not to be worth the trouble. It is Miss Rourke's thesis, on the contrary, that we have a cultural past, particularly in the arts, far richer than we are wont to assume—witness our early portraiture, wall paintings, water colors—and that one of the principal tasks of criticism is to gather it in, give it usable shape, and make it part of the national consciousness—or the national unconscious—if we are ever to produce a full-blown and distinctively American culture.

What gives piquancy as well as strong fiber to Miss Rourke's thesis is that she would accept the statement of Henry James—whose example as exile has hung heavy over our heads—that "the flower of art blooms only where the soil is deep, that it takes a great deal of history to produce a little literature, that it needs a complex social machinery to set a writer in motion." In other words, she adheres to the hard view of art as sustained and orderly production out of social stability, certainties, and a sense of permanence, as opposed to the self-flattering but often self-defeating romantic view of art as a spontaneous, virginal, individual expression. She does not discount the romantic impulse which has played so great a part in our development. "Romanticism," she writes, "forms a great errand toward discovery: Whitman is a complete expression of this spirit." So too perhaps are the innumerable autobiographical novels which have flashed like meteors from minds which have somehow never been able to produce anything comparable again. It is this fragmentary aspect of the romantic tendency that she would offset by a critical consolidation of our cultural resources, the establishment of continui-

ties, to serve as a sustaining backlog for the creative artist.

For very sufficient reasons—the constantly moving frontier and industrialization—the continuities of our culture have been broken and its materials scattered and hidden under the dross of stereotypes and standardization. But they still exist, and it is Miss Rourke's purpose, not antiquarian and static but critical and dynamic, to search out and define the forms which the American imagination has taken and put them into the hands and minds of present-day Americans.

There is much tangible, almost archaeological, work to be done in the collecting and recording of materials. Miss Rourke's own books are rich in these concrete materials. In "American Humor," published in 1931, her delineations of our folk types and our native mythology, sprung out of older cultures yet deeply indigenous, were built up stone by scholarly stone. Some of the individual pieces, such as the beautiful tall tale called *Sunrise in His Pocket*, are gems in their own right. But her main interest lies in the critical task of formulation and definition; and in this perspective our early folk materials, since they form part of the "deep soil" where the flower of art may bloom, take on vital contemporary relevance apart from their intrinsic interest.

Miss Rourke's volume on Audubon was a study of the artist in his American context of a hundred years ago as well as a careful biography of a great ornithologist. In the modern career of Charles Sheeler she has found a subject which is not only interesting in its own right but enables her to advance and demonstrate certain basic and fructifying ideas about art and American traditions. Here is an artist who at first intuitively and then deliberately put himself in contact with native sources; who was subjected to and drew sustenance from all the foreign influences that have played over American art and artists in the past twenty-five years—from French impressionism and post-impressionism to primitive Negro sculpture—yet worked steadily toward an expression that is distinctly his own and distinctly American. His final contribution is an accession to the body of art which exists apart from time and nationality.

Charles Sheeler was born in Philadelphia. He studied with William M. Chase and on two occasions went abroad with Chase and a group of fellow-students. It was on his third trip to Europe, without Chase, that he discovered for himself the vital concept of design, which

* "Charles Sheeler. Artist in the American Tradition." By Constance Rourke. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

"From Detractions Rude"

THE MILTONIC SETTING, PAST AND PRESENT. By E. M. W. Tillyard. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.
MILTON, COMPLETE POETRY AND SELECTED PROSE. Edited by E. H. Visiak. Random House. \$3.50.

THE present age, which has marked intellectual if not spiritual kinship to the seventeenth century, has turned its thought with increasing frequency and with effective understanding to almost all the writers, both great and small, of that resurgent epoch. Though Donne has been the subject of an unusually large amount of serious study and searching criticism, particularly in view of the meager attention given him during the intervening years, more scholarly investigation and critical discussion have been devoted to Milton than to any other writer of the period. Dr. Tillyard is well aware of this fact. Himself the author of an important biographical and critical study of Milton, he knows and thoughtfully evaluates not only the classic authorities like Todd, Masson, Pattison, and Raleigh but also the newer men who have recreated and enlarged Milton's greatness as poet and man. As befits a real scholar he is generous in his acknowledgment of debts to coworkers and courteous in his differences of opinion with those who are genuine students of Milton. He is familiar also with the detractors, notably Middleton Murry, T. S. Eliot, and Hilaire Belloc, and to them he is a frank and forceful opponent. The first two receive his hardest blows, but the last is casually dismissed. After all, as a scholar, he is not so significant an adversary.

"The Miltonic Setting" presents eight short chapters, of which the first, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, and the last, *Milton and the Epic*, previously published in slightly different form, offer directly the results of the author's researches. The first makes a good case for attributing the two poems to the Cambridge rather than to the Horton period on the basis of evidence in the *Academic Exercises*. This view has been suggested by others, but Dr. Tillyard is its most convincing proponent. The last chapter traces the history of the Renaissance epic and the development of Milton's epic plans. The essay is notable for its learning and, in spite of an occasional sense of forcing, for the cogency of its argument. Particularly valuable is the exposition of the mingling in Milton of the classic, the medieval, and the Renaissance characteristics of the epic form and substance.

The other chapters, though they are rich in subtleties of interpretation and evidences of learning, are essentially the defiant challenges of an embattled champion. Dr. Tillyard is temperate, but he does not hesitate to suggest that both Mr. Murry and Mr. Eliot would profit as critics by a thorough reading of Milton's poetry. He refutes Mr. Murry's charge that Milton is inferior to Shakespeare because he is general rather than particular in his presentation of life and character, and quite properly insists that merely to differ in style and mode of observation even from a very great poet is not necessarily to be inferior. His analysis of the conclusions Mr. Murry has drawn from one of Keats's letters referring to Milton would make Quintilian gasp and stare—at Mr. Murry. The retort courteous though subtly cruel to Mr. Eliot's now famous onslaught on Milton's style is a thorough and sensitive discussion of that style, fully illustrated by pertinent

quotation, which leaves the devotee of classicism wandering in a critical waste land. Perhaps the demolition of Mr. Eliot might have been made even more complete if the author, mindful of Dr. Johnson, had pointed out that the high-church royalist cannot see the poetry of Milton for the republican and anti-episcopal tracts.

The controversial chapters in this volume are so brave and so spirited, so ample in learning and so delicate in perception, that the reader inevitably desires their author to undertake a greater task. Every admirer of the consummate artist and the heroic man which were one person in Milton would delight in a full-length study, serenely unaware of carping hostility and serenely positive in presenting, with a minimum of biography and history, the vast riches of the poetry illumined by the spiritual grandeur of the man. Such a volume might well arise out of the ripeness of Dr. Tillyard's scholarship and his critical acumen.

Something of this appreciation is found in the vibrant introduction Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., has written for the one volume *Nonesuch Milton*. It gives us Milton the valiant and enlightened citizen, and pointedly suggests the immediacy of his principles and the need of his spirit in the present world. To the complete poetry and a generous selection from the prose are added useful notes and convenient chronologies of Milton's life and writings. The translations of the Latin poems by Walter Skeat together with the translator's notes constitute an important feature of the volume. The editor announces that he has drawn the text from the early editions, but if the misreading in the sonnet on Cromwell is typical, the text needs extensive collation with the established canon.

Both Dr. Tillyard and Mr. Visiak might say to their volumes: Go, little book, thyself present; and if that any bark at thee, come tell me and I will send more after thee. They might well speak the gentle words of the sweet singer Milton revered in bidding a world besotted with tyranny and satanic passion to know the healing grace of beauty and the sanctifying love of human liberty.

DONALD A. ROBERTS

Two Lives of Lenin

LIFE OF LENIN. By P. Kerzhentsev. International Publishers. \$2.

LENIN. By Christopher Hollis. The Bruce Publishing Company. \$2.50.

TWO books on Lenin from two dramatically different sources are among the recent outstanding contributions to radical literature. "Life of Lenin" by P. Kerzhentsev, a "veteran Soviet historian," is sponsored by the official Communist publishing house in this country—which tells half the story. "Lenin" by Christopher Hollis, a young British historian and economist, is one of the "Science and Culture Series" published under the auspices of the Jesuit priest Joseph Husslein. Nevertheless, to the unbiased reader the latter will commend itself for its literary style as well as for its general objectivity.

Both authors try to explain Lenin as the product of his early family life, an undertaking to which the Russian author, thanks to his closer contacts with Russian social and political life, brings the greater measure of comprehension and

had played no part in the "spontaneous" school of his former teacher. He returned, one of the first American artists to accept the modern movement, threw "brilliance overboard," and began a long application to craftsmanship and architectonic structure. Half by accident he spent much of his painting time during the next years in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a section rich in American materials, particularly in the strong simple forms and sound workmanship which have been dominant in the best American architecture both early and modern. The Bucks County barn became one of his characteristic subjects. He also became interested in the handicrafts of the region which held their lesson of craftsmanship and functional form, as well as planes and surfaces. Meanwhile, to earn a living, he had taken up photography, partly because it seemed removed from art. It turned out otherwise, and in 1920 he included painting and photographs in one of the earliest exhibits in which both mediums appeared on an equal footing. In 1926 he went to Detroit, on commission, to photograph the Ford plant at River Rouge and produce a series of prints on what was then a novel theme, the industrial subject. Several years later the subject appeared in a group of paintings, including *Classic Landscape*, which were representational to the minute detail yet essentially abstract in their preoccupation with form. In the same year that he visited Detroit he became deeply interested in an architecture and a craftsmanship that at first glance seem as far removed as might well be from the industrial subjects of a mechanical age—that of the Shakers, whose working principle was that "every force has its form," and who produced one of the most extraordinary flowerings of early America. Their exquisite tables, chairs, meeting-houses are functional, simple, and spare, as devoid of ornament as a factory stripped for mass production. (They invented many labor-saving devices in their communal economy.) Their handiwork, and their attitude toward it, has been a continuing interest and influence in Sheeler's work.

The intricate shuttling path along which Sheeler moved from the "spontaneity" of the Chase school to the preoccupation with design, from Bucks County barns to the industrial subjects to the craftsmanship of the Shakers, from the realistic "moment" to the abstraction of essential form, is traced by Miss Rourke with great skill. What emerges at the end is a fusion of all these elements in painting that is at once realistic and abstract, "the fact and the vision of the fact," and basically classic in that its object is "to show what I have found, not what I am looking for." (The words are Picasso's.)

Miss Rourke justifies her subtitle, "An Artist in the American Tradition." She also gives us, in the course of her narrative, a map of that vague terrain, suggesting its nature and extent, that at once clarifies it by indicating an order and stimulates the desire for further explora-

tion and discovery—or recovery. Indeed, one of Miss Rourke's principal talents is her capacity for setting the reader's mind in motion. She is an accomplished biographer and merely as narrative her account of Sheeler's life is absorbing. She has been able to draw on the artist's personal reminiscences and quote extensively his pungent and intensely interesting comments on men and movements. Her own comments on individual pictures—the book contains forty-eight reproductions admirably arranged—and on art in general are illuminating, grounded in scholarship and authentic critical perception.

Her principal contribution is an affirmative answer, and affirmation is always needed, to the question whether there exist for the artist in America the bases for a spiritual living comparable to that which is his natural inheritance in more articulated cultures. Henry James was answering it in the passage I have quoted. Continuing, he wrote: "American civilization has hitherto had other things to do than to produce flowers, and before giving birth to writers it has wisely occupied itself with providing something for them to write about. Three or four beautiful talents of transatlantic growth are the sum of what the world usually recognizes, and in this modest nosegay the genius of Hawthorne is admitted to have the rarest and sweetest fragrance." It is a complex and tender answer which reveals the conflict in James and the dilemma that has perennially beset the American artist in whatever field. It is profoundly true that the flower of art blooms only where the soil is deep; and many an American talent has suffered from the effects of malnutrition. Yet James was at that moment celebrating a writer for whom the soil had somehow been deep enough. As a matter of fact, it was deep enough for James, and though, in the flesh, he found it easier to live abroad, the European air nourished a thoroughly American flower which in turn took its place in the "modest nosegay" of "transatlantic" talents. His roots were deeply placed in the American soil, but he had more reason than Hawthorne to find America difficult. Hawthorne had lived in the relative stability of a time toward the close of a period in our history; James was plumped into the agitated development of a new post-war industrialism in which critical self-cultivation had no place. Yet it may be that we have put too much stress on James's physical exile.

Since James's time the artist's attempt to escape from the isolation and spiritual insecurity that have so often been his lot in this country has gone on unceasingly, and the problem remains pressing. Miss Rourke implies that the attempt to escape has often been the failure to accept, partly out of ignorance, what is in reality a rich heritage. In showing how one artist has discovered and assimilated that heritage and used it as a starting-point for fresh formulation, she has fulfilled a primary function of the critic—and fulfilled it with distinction.

understanding. Unfortunately this understanding gives way increasingly to official Soviet opinion as the book progresses. It becomes painfully obvious with each successive chapter that the author was commissioned to fulfil the difficult task of coordinating Lenin's life and work with the history of the Russian Revolution as present-day Russia sees it. Stalin's name appears on almost every page, often four or five times.

If one is to believe the author, Stalin was always at Lenin's side, always the faithful and reliable friend and adviser. That the "liquidated" Trotsky finds no mercy at the hands of the Soviet historian goes without saying. Trotsky, Rykov, Kamenev, Bucharin, Zinoviev, Tomsy, and their associates, when they appear in the story at all, are the villains, the traitors, the weaklings, the plotters, and the know-nothings who from almost the first day of the Soviet Revolution worked toward its destruction. The Red Army—it was Lenin's creation. The fight against the counter-revolutionary generals—it was led and mostly directed by Stalin. Trotsky's name is not even mentioned in this connection. That sort of historical narrative may pass muster in the U. S. S. R. In the United States, where the literary fare of even the most orthodox Communist includes non-Communist newspapers, books, and periodicals, that sort of thing is bound to stick in the reader's crop.

Mr. Hollis's portrayal of the great Lenin, strange to say, is the much more understanding and one might almost say affectionate of the two. In contrast with the bleakness of Kerzhentsev's presentation it is warm and human, filled with a deep appreciation of the courage and the vision that created the new Russia, an appreciation apparently so sincere that it can give the Trotskys and Kamenevs of the revolution their just due without unduly detracting from Lenin's greatness. Mr. Hollis discusses Stalin, Zinoviev, and Trotsky with commendable impartiality, dividing light and shadow with a discerning hand, with an appreciation of revolutionary motives and an understanding of the Marxist conception which, coming from that source, is truly remarkable. The chapters on The Revolt Against Religion, The Bourgeois Revolution, and Poland and the War are especially to be commended.

To get a true picture of Lenin and the cause he represents, the truth-seeking reader will do well to read both books. Between Kerzhentsev's representation of Stalin the infallible and Hollis's quotations from Lenin that "these three" (Kamenev, Stalin, and Myranov) pursued a policy which Lenin characterized as treason to Bolshevism—a policy of cooperation with the Mensheviks, of acceptance of the Provisional Government, and of support of "revolutionary defense" against Germany—he will arrive at a picture of the Russian leader which may approximate reality.

What the former lacks—a clear and unbiased picture of the part Trotsky played in the early days of the revolution—is found in the latter. "There was a difference of opinion between Lenin and Trotsky," so the author of "Lenin" sees it, "whether, as Lenin wanted, to hold Denikin and attack Kolchak, or as Trotsky, to hold Kolchak and attack Denikin. The question was merely one of order. A much more important difference was that concerning the holding of Petrograd in face of Yudenitch's attack from Esthonia in October, 1919. Lenin was for abandoning Petrograd as untenable. Trotsky argued that it was in all probability possible to hold

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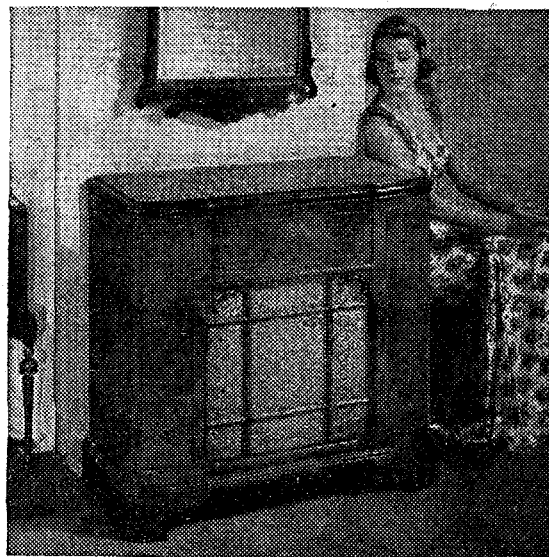
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Somewhere between the two the truth will lie. Where, each reader will have to judge for himself or leave it to posterity to find the answer.

LUDWIG LORE

Release from Archaism

THE RIVER BREAKS UP. By I. J. Singer. Translated from the Yiddish by Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

MODERNITY has been slow to touch Yiddish literature. Until the war sharply abridged the medieval ghetto civilization of the Jews—in New York as well as in eastern Europe—Yiddish writers contented themselves with an archaism that was either quaint and nostalgic or bitter and satiric; they backed timidly away from the modern, cosmopolitan Jew or reflected him as a garish and unaccountable sport. I. J. Singer has accomplished the difficult transition. His first novel, "The Sinner," and his great play, "Yoshe Kalb," for all their vigorous realism and splendid pageantry revealed a Jewish way of life that persisted through two stagnant centuries of Chassidism, but that is no more. "The Brothers Ashkenazi," which appeared in English only two years ago, showed that Mr. Singer's remarkable talents had suddenly been released from archaic simplifications, and that he has a profound and perceptive grasp of the complexities of the modern world.

This volume of short stories stands midway in time and midway in importance between "The Sinner" and "The Brothers Ashkenazi." The stories are not dated, and they rarely allude to historical events, but their chronology can be clearly traced by their indication of the gradual disruption of ghetto life. None are purely archaic. Even in the first story, which reflects the timeless existence of a Jewish trader amid the Polish peasantry, brawny Hirsch Leib has passed well beyond the narrow pale of the ghetto. Only during the Passover holidays does the need to return to his people become insistent, and this need costs him his life in the breaking ice of the river.

The incident is symbolic. Throughout the volume it is the traditionalist that suffers, the pragmatist that succeeds. In the second story we meet a magnificent old hypochondriac who has adapted himself to the era of industrial expansion and been swept by it to prosperity. In the exquisite third story, Clay Pits, the disturbing transition is more clearly marked. There stirs in Joel, the son of a rag-picker, a strange new impulse to make clay figures with his hands; his father, however, wishes to apprentice him to Reb Sholom, who follows the more customary Jewish occupation of cap-making.

The stories now rapidly become more contemporary in feeling. In one a caterer turns into a scoffer and roué because a marriage broker has sold him goods considerably damaged. In Sand we see the disruption of Jewish life by military operations, while in Blood Singer sets forth with fine subtlety but with none of the hideous jargon of Freudianism the

operation of an Oedipus complex in the mind of a young Jewish apostate.

Several stories reflect the Russian Revolution; the very last, corresponding to Singer's emigration to America, is set in New York. One approaches this story with trepidation. So many Jewish writers have made the physical journey to America without successfully accomplishing the spiritual transition. But in Doctor Georgie there is no sentimentality, no weeping and wailing incomprehension of the new life. Here instead is a thirty-six-page tale of the vanquishment of dream by reality that is fit to be set beside "Madame Bovary."

Singer, in turning from archaism, has not cast out his Jewish heritage. He never abandons his quest for the basic moral patterns of life. In this quest he is undeterred by the cataclysms and disasters which have driven so many of his contemporaries to mere impressionism and to deterministic philosophies which abrogate moral responsibility in the individual. He understands not only environmental reactions but also the symbols by which men live. Therein lies his power, a power that is not to be measured in terms of Yiddish literature alone.

HAROLD STRAUSS

The Unity of Science

ENCYCLOPEDIA AND UNIFIED SCIENCE. INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF UNIFIED SCIENCE, VOLUME I, NUMBER 1. By Otto Neurath, Niels Bohr, John Dewey, Rudolf Carnap, Charles W. Morris. University of Chicago Press. \$1.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE THEORY OF SIGNS. INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF UNIFIED SCIENCE, VOLUME I, NUMBER 2. By Charles W. Morris. University of Chicago Press. \$1.

THE publication of these pamphlets marks the beginning of an international scientific enterprise which may prove to be of great historical importance. Encyclopedias, to be sure, have been published before. Nor is the ideal of unified science quite new. Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Leibnitz, and others have attempted or projected such unification of science. But whereas in traditional philosophy this unity was sought in some systemic, speculative metaphysics, in the present work it is based on the extension of the scientific method to all fields of knowledge, including philosophy. In place of the a priori systematizations of their predecessors, the editors of this work propose encyclopedism, while to speculative metaphysics they oppose scientific philosophy. Encyclopedism is the tentative, empirical integration of science in contrast to the absolute, rationalistic syntheses of Plato, Aquinas, or Descartes. Scientific philosophy is the analysis which, patterned after modern science, unites empiricism with mathematical method. Thus the encyclopedia is not a makeshift but an ideal form of scientific philosophy. In it a maximum of logical interrelation between the languages and methods of the sciences is compatible with their empirical growth and tentative results.

In the first pamphlet Carnap and Dewey outline the two main phases of the unity of science: the logical and the social. Through logical analysis of the methods, concepts, and laws of science, the "Encyclopedia" aims to demonstrate that no

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radical disparity obtains among the different sciences. The terms of every science are based ultimately on the everyday "thing-language," and through this common basis the sciences (physics, biology, psychology, sociology, etc.) achieve a unity of language. On the other hand, the laws of one science are not always derivable from those of another science. Thus while some laws of social science may be derived from the laws of psychology, the biological laws cannot at present be derived from the laws of physics. There is, therefore, at the present state of scientific development, no unity of the laws of science.

The logical unity of science, although incomplete, is of fundamental social importance. For many practical problems involve the application of several sciences to one concrete situation. Were the several sciences as disparate as some philosophers believe, we could make no scientific predictions and hence no intelligent decisions concerning such problems.

The increased and more pervasive applications of science to the problems of individual and social life involve, therefore, the increased unification of science. The logical unity of science is thus the condition of what Dewey calls its social unity, which consists in the adoption of the scientific attitude in every field of social action. Pure and applied science, the physical and social sciences may exhibit significant differences in their finished results. The sciences, however, are not to be treated merely from the point of view of these results but also as techniques of social action. In this respect they are fundamentally characterized by an identical method—the method of intelligent, objective inquiry.

The extension of this scientific method of inquiry to "the

field now preempted by religion, morals, and political and economic institutions" is the central social task of the new "Encyclopedia." In Dewey's judgment "this problem transcends in importance the more technical problem of unification of the results of the special sciences." The great social value of the "Encyclopedia" lies in the opportunity it offers for international cooperation in the defense and the expansion of the scientific attitude in social practice. "We are now," writes Dewey, "in a world where there is an accelerated development of intolerance. Part of the cause for this growth can be found, I think, in the fact that tolerance so far has been largely a passive thing. We need a shift from acceptance of responsibility for passive toleration to active responsibility for promoting the extension of scientific method."

In this connection we may note that the editors of the "Encyclopedia" do not seem to take sufficient account of organized governmental opposition to the scientific attitude in certain countries. They say that in selecting the contributors to the "Encyclopedia" their political views "have not entered into consideration, since the 'Encyclopedia' is a scientific and not a political enterprise." But precisely because it is an international scientific enterprise it must involve positive political opposition to those political ideologies and governments which suppress, or advocate the suppression of, the free use of scientific method in social problems. Not to include such opposition in the program of the "Encyclopedia" is to fail in one of its most important functions.

No review of the "International Encyclopedia of Unified Science" can be adequate without an appreciation of the work of Otto Neurath, who in a great measure is responsible for its initiation. Neurath, like Carnap, is one of the leading members of the Vienna Circle, a group of scientists and philosophers who, following the work of Russell and Wittgenstein, were largely influential in developing the philosophy of logical empiricism. This scientific philosophy has already given ample evidence of its vigor and fruitfulness. In the new "Encyclopedia" it finds a consummate expression of that cooperative inquiry which has marked its earlier development, and which Dr. Neurath has so diligently fostered.

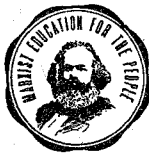
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A Reconstruction Romance

AND TELL OF TIME. By Laura Krey. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

IN THE golden wake of "Gone with the Wind" comes "And Tell of Time," an ambitious romance of the Civil War and Reconstruction. After tracing, with epic gestures, the Darcy-Lyttleton clan through several blue-blooded Georgia generations, the book concentrates on the life of Cavin Darcy, who defended the Confederacy against those meddlin' Yanks and then followed his father into Texas to carry forward the building up of a new Darcy barony on that rich earth. Thereafter we are presented with another picture—Texas variation on an old Confederate theme—of post-war reorganization, the corruption and brutality of the Northern military, the wild abandon of the freed Negroes (revealing, apparently, how stupid emancipation was), and the varieties of pride, heroic anger, and gallantry with which

the planter aristocracy handled all three. Since it does little to disturb the traditional vision of Confederate gentlemen, ladies, and darkies—the latter, of course, seen only as born slaves and charming lackeys—and since it is sprinkled with much Southern local color, romance, and occasional interludes of adventurous action, it has, I think, a good chance of becoming popular—this in spite of the fact that the minor characters rarely come to life, that Cavin Darcy himself is frequently remote, and that long sections of narrative manage to say surprisingly little. In short, even though "And Tell of Time" furnishes several interesting insights into the roots of the Southern attitude toward the Yankees and a few colorful pictures of semi-pioneer life in the Texas of the sixties and seventies, it remains a conventional, if ambitious, historical romance based on a slightly shopworn Southern point of view.

MILTON RUGOFF

RECORDS

AMONG Columbia's new releases is Handel's Suite No. 5 for harpsichord—the one with the Air and Variations known as "The Harmonious Blacksmith"—not the finest of the series but a good one, and played by Ernst Victor Wolff with his usual dynamic phrasing and superb command of the instrument (two records, \$3.25). Then a good set of Bruch's melodious Violin Concerto in G minor played by Alfredo Campoli and an orchestra under Goehr (three records, \$5). Also a fine recording by Albert Schweitzer of Franck's Chorale No. 1 for organ (two records, \$3.25), one of Franck's last works, which offers his powers and style and thought—the loveliness of the quiet beginning, the bombast of the conclusion—fully matured. And coupled on a single record (\$1.50) two sides from the excellent set of Gluck's "Orpheus"—the "Dance of the Furies" and the "Dance of the Blessed Spirits."

Victor issues Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 2 for viola (interchangeable with clarinet) and piano, which to my ears represents only more of Brahms's arid note-spinning by formula, but which I can report is excellently played by William Primrose and Gerald Moore (three records, \$6.50). Bach also has his formulas; and his instrumental works also include much that strikes my ears as arid note-spinning. I would say this of most of the concluding five Preludes and Fugues of the "Well-Tempered Clavier" that are in the fifth Bach Society subscription set issued here by Victor, and of all but the Prelude of the English Suite No. 2 for clavier (six records, \$12). Edwin Fischer seems to regard the Preludes and Fugues chiefly as exercises in pianissimos, which are occasionally blurred or inaudible; but Landowska's performance of the Suite on the harpsichord is highly dynamic as always. Goossens does a fine job with the Rossini-Respighi music for the ballet "La Boutique Fantasque" (three records, \$5); but the long succession of short pieces without musical continuity becomes tiresome—the more since neither on the labels nor in the booklet is there any correlation of individual piece of music with episode in the ballet. On a single record (\$1.50)

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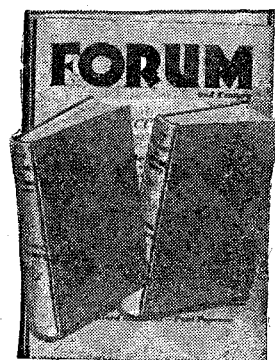
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is Marian Anderson's beautiful singing of arrangements of two Negro spirituals—"Trampin'" and "I Know the Lord Laid His Hands on Me"; on another (\$2) is Paderewski's tired and undistinguished performance of Chopin's Polonaise Opus 53.

For the rest the air is thick with transcriptions, all on single records. Columbia offers you Schubert's extraordinarily beautiful "Andantino varié" Opus 84 for piano four hands, in a two-hand arrangement played by Petri (\$1.50); and you will do better to get the Victor record of the original played by Artur and Karl Ulrich Schnabel. So with the beautiful lament of Dido from Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas": the original sung by contralto and orchestra on the concluding record of the Decca set is to be preferred to an arrangement for contralto and chorus, on Victor, which is derived from—of all things—a transcription for orchestra by somebody else (\$1.50). On the reverse side is an "Ave Maria" by Arcadelt edited by McDonald; and while I do not know the original work I doubt that a sixteenth-century composer wrote the eighteenth-century chord progressions on this record. I also recommend the original of Bach's "Jesus, Joy of Man's Desiring" on Columbia DB507, in preference to Caillet's orchestral version on Victor, played very gorgeously by the Philadelphia under Ormandy (\$2). On the reverse side Caillet helps Bach to recompose for the Philadelphia Orchestra the superb Prelude of the E major Sonata for violin unaccompanied; and I suggest waiting until someone records the original or Bach's own arrangement for orchestra.

B. H. HAGGIN

Film Note

"THE Edge of the World" (55th Street Playhouse) is in the genre of "Man of Aran," and quite as beautiful pictorially. Its main theme is the battle of man against the elements, a theme now almost archaic, romantic in itself and by reason of its contrast with the newer and more sordid battles that have displaced it. The setting is a precipitous and storm-ridden island in the Hebrides off the northwestern coast of Scotland; the austere life it has imposed on its inhabitants and their struggle against an eventual certain defeat provide human sequences that would seem less authentic in a background less dramatic. Michael Powell, a young English director, has dramatized, with a professional cast and the people of the Island of Foula as extras, the depopulation of a similar island, St. Kilda, which was forced when the island's land resources ran out and the trawlers of an encroaching industrialism emptied the surrounding waters of the fish that had for generations been the main support of the islanders. The opening scenes, by which we are conveyed to the island, are disappointing, and one of the principal sequences—in which a crucial decision is made to rest upon the scaling of a cliff—is not convincing. But these are not serious lapses in a film whose main interest and significance lie in its camera rendering of nature in one of its elemental aspects. Mr. Powell has handled the human story with restraint; and he has recorded the bleakness, and the extraordinary dignity and beauty, of the island itself in magnificent photography which shows to what extent the camera as well as the brush can project strong feeling.

M. M.

Letters to the Editors

War Is Surrender

Dear Sirs: The Western world is again filled with the passions of war. A crusading spirit is moving over America. Idealists are preparing to go forth to slay the dictators. Many people feel they will lose their self-respect if they don't take up arms against fascism. Few of us would hesitate to join a crusade that really promised to make this a good world to live in. But we tried that twenty years ago and failed.

In 1918 we created a free, democratic Czechoslovakia, and today the Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, and Germans in that state are demanding freedom with a violence that far surpasses that of the revolutionary movements of the minority races in the old Hapsburg empire.

We created a free and independent Austria, and after two decades of troubled existence it has disappeared. We brought into being a Yugoslavia designed to be the free home of the liberated South Slavs. For two decades the Croatians there have fought their Serb brothers. Today there is far less freedom and democracy in Yugoslavia than in old Serbia, or even old Croatia, and the "freed" Croatians never detested any master half so much as they do their Serb "liberators."

Greater Rumania we brought into being also. Little Rumania had been quite democratic. But our new Rumania is utterly authoritarian. It has abolished the old constitution, done away with parliament, suppressed all civil liberties. It exercises rigid control over the press, represses 5,000,000 minority citizens, and survives only at the price of suppressing all freedom. We reduced Hungary to a mere rump of a state, hoping a penitent people would seek reform. But instead of reform, the only issue here is between feudal reaction and ruthless Nazism.

We crushed the old German militarism, and it was born anew in a form that makes the old army seem like toy soldiers. We tried to end the *Drang nach Osten*, and Germany now pushes east as a flood tide.

And now we want to start another crusade. Well, what else can we do? Take it lying down? Let the dictators lord it over us? Give up?

But plunging into war is giving up.

War means only catastrophic defeat for humanity. We must try a different way. Let's try first to settle things without war. If we make a settlement before war, it'll probably be pretty bad. But if we make a settlement after war, it will certainly be worse. For everybody. Even for us who win. If you don't believe that, look at the present mess. We won before, didn't we?

R. H. MARKHAM

Budapest, August 15

Victor Hugo to Spain

Dear Sirs: On November 9, 1868, the *New York Daily Tribune* printed a letter addressed by Victor Hugo to the people of Spain. It was dated October 22, 1868; today it seems as eloquent and timely as it did seventy years ago.

There is a nation which for a thousand years, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, was the first in Europe, the equal of Greece in *epopoeia*, of Italy in art, of France in philosophy. . . . In navigation, in adventure, in industry, in invention, in colonization, it was another England, with less of isolation and more of the sun. It has its captains, doctors, poets, prophets, heroes, and sages. This nation has its Alhambra as Athens its Parthenon; its Cervantes as France its Voltaire. The soul of this great nation spread so much light on the world that a Torquemada was required to put it out. Over its jet, the Pope has put his tiara—an enormous extinguisher. Papism and absolutism joined hands to ruin the nation; its light was turned into flame, and the pyre was spread over the land. . . .

From these ashes the nation has arisen. Will it arise grand or little? That is the question. Spain can reassume its rank—become the equal of France and England. The opportunity of Providence is immense, the occasion unique. Will Spain neglect it? Another monarchy on the continent! For what? Spain the subject of a king, who is himself the subject of other powers, What a degradation! Besides, in the present age, to set up a monarch is to give oneself a great deal of trouble to little purpose. The decoration is going to be changed. A republic in Spain would be a "have a care" in Europe, and "have a care" pronounced in the ear of kings would mean peace. . . . it would be the equilibrium of the continent established to the detriment of fictions by the weight of truth in the scale; it would be old Spain regenerated by the young force—the people; it would be, from a commercial and mercantile point of view, life restored to that

double coast which ruled on the Mediterranean before Venice, and on the ocean before England; it would be industry reigning where misery now crouches; it would be Cadiz the equal of Southampton, Barcelona the equal of Liverpool, and Madrid the equal of Paris. . . . A republic in Spain would be the pure and simple declaration of man's sovereignty over himself; it would be production without a tariff, consumption without a custom-house, circulation without a fetter, the workshop without proletarianism, wealth without parasitism, conscience without prejudice, speech without a gag, law without lying, force without an army, fraternity without Cain; it would be labor for all, justice for all—the scaffold for none; it would be the ideal made real, and, as there is a swallow which leads the way, there would be a nation an exemplar to others.

As to danger, there is none. Citizen Spain is Spain strong. Spain democratic is Spain a citadel. A republic in Spain would be probity in the administration, truth in the government, liberty in power; it would be sovereignty made real and unconquerable. Liberty is tranquil because it is invincible, and invincible because it is contagious. It seizes him who touches it. The army sent to attack it reacts on the despot. It is, therefore, left in peace. A republic in Spain would be to the horizon the irradiation of the true—a promise for all—a menace only to what is evil; it would be this giant—Justice upright in Europe behind the barricade of the Pyrenees. Spain a monarchy, Spain is little; Spain a republic, Spain is grand. Which will she choose?

LAURA PACKARD REDMAN

New York, September 8

The Freedom of the Future

Dear Sirs: The *Nation* is to be congratulated on publishing the article, *An Anthropologist's Credo*, by Dr. Franz Boas, which appeared in the issue of August 27. This challenging statement of belief by one of the great thinkers of our time must elicit the admiration of every progressive person.

However, several of Dr. Boas's conclusions in the latter part of his article are curious. After establishing a questionable dichotomy between "intellectual and spiritual freedom" on one hand and "social and economic freedom" on the other, he states that it is "intolerable that the state should force a person to actions that are against his intellectual or spiritual principles." The implication

is that the state should be granted the power of limiting freedom of action in the social and political field, but that freedom of the spirit and intellect is an absolute, subject only to some higher law.

Dr. Boas must surely realize, as an anthropologist, that the introduction of absolutes into social relationships leads us in the direction of theocracy and the "authority of tradition," against which he so forcefully protests. In organized society, the group, if it is democratic, should determine the freedom of its individual members. Even if such a dualism as Dr. Boas suggests were theoretically desirable, which it is not, it would fail in practice; for freedom is of a piece—intellectual and economic freedom being merely two sides of the same coin. The intellect and the spirit operate in a social and economic framework unless their use is purely passive and personal—in which case they have no meaning so far as society is concerned. The exercise of freedom must lead to some type of action—even though it is a purely negative one, such as refusing to go to war.

It is this fact which is responsible for the dilemma of liberalism and which accounts for the inadequacy of the liberal attitude in times of great social change. It accounts for the betrayal of Kerensky, MacDonald, and other leaders of the great upheavals that took place in Europe immediately after the World War. The dilemma has, of course, been formulated many times: since intellectual and spiritual freedom is divinely ordained (for that is what Dr. Boas's statement amounts to), it may not be tampered with by man-made law. The assumption of power in a time of crisis means defining the limits of freedom, which no liberal government has been willing to do.

Absolute intellectual and spiritual freedom is not only undesirable but also improbable of attainment. The greatest freedom consists in recognition of the limitations of our freedom. Acceptance of this principle is not a compromise, a breaking of faith with any ethical ideal except a purely fictitious one of our own creation. This is not to say, however, that the right of dissidence is not a fundamental one. It simply means that we must fashion a society in which the dissidence of its rational and progressive elements will involve no fundamental heterodoxy—in other words, a society whose basic social, economic, and spiritual principles are themselves rational and progressive. It means, of course, the

creation of a new standard of critical reference—such as exists in the Soviet Union, where the right to criticize conditions of work, methods of payment, arbitrary use of administrative power, medical facilities, housing, and the like, is considered inalienable, and where such criticism, if justified, must be followed by corrective action. Having lived in the Soviet Union for some time, I can vouch for these facts. Such a society has the only desirable, and possible, type of intellectual freedom—a freedom which points to the future instead of the past.

ARTHUR BEHRSTOCK

New York, September 5

Diethylene in Cigarettes

Dear Sirs: James Rorty has pointed out to me an error in my piece in your August 13 issue, as to the use of diethylene glycol in Philip Morris cigarettes.

As a correction, will you please publish the following letter written to me under date of August 18 by W. G. Campbell, chief of the Federal Food and Drug Administration:

May I acknowledge your letter of August 12 requesting an expression of the department's attitude on diethylene glycol, especially its use as a hygroscopic agent in cigarettes.

As you know, diethylene glycol has been shown to be toxic. We consequently regard foods containing it as adulterated within the meaning of the Food and Drugs Act. This law gives us no authority over cigarettes. We have had no occasion to investigate the possible harmfulness of diethylene glycol as an ingredient in cigarettes. Certainly no harmful substance should be added in cigarettes, although the amount of this substance which proved toxic in the Elixir Sulfanilamide tragedy of last year was much larger than the amounts which we understand are incorporated into cigarettes.

If you will publish this, it will serve both to straighten out my previous statement and to show my gratitude to Mr. Rorty.

HELEN WOODWARD

New York, September 6

F. D. R. in California

Dear Sirs: The recent primaries in California and South Carolina are supposed to be indicative of Roosevelt's waning magic. I can't speak for the latter state but I have felt the pulse of a number of people out here and found that the genial F. D. R. hasn't lost his hold upon the imagination of the voters.

Mr. McAdoo was hamstrung by his own efforts. First of all he claimed that \$35 was enough for anyone over fifty

years of age to live on for one month. People resented that. Negroes and many others resented his failure to vote on the anti-lynching bill. At the various Democratic rallies these little insidious and invidious dodgers were scattered about:

We Like YOU,
But We're Thru
With McAdoo!

The capitalized "YOU" plainly means Roosevelt. J. HERBERT ENGBECK
San Leandro, Cal., September 3

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